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Lukanov Addresses Roundtable Talks

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[Speech by Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Bulgarian Communist Party delegation and Politburo member, at the roundtable talks at the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia—live]

[Text] I would like to begin by repeating my apology for not being able to participate in the entire meeting. I already apologized at the last meeting. This is because of previous commitments related to the 14th Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Extraordinary Congress, which begins tomorrow. The BCP delegation will be represented here by Comrades Belchev, Mruchkov, and Aleksandur Yankov, and other members and experts of the delegation.

I would like to say that my request to make a statement at the beginning of the meeting was related to the socioeconomic situation, about which I shall speak later, and also to my intention to respond to two statements read at the previous meeting—the ones made by Dr (?Shakliev) and Mrs Elka Konstantinova. However, I will not be able to implement my second intention because I want to save time. I can always do this at one of our next meetings.

Now, if you will allow me, I will say a few words about what was said by Dr Zhelev. First of all, in my opinion, I would agree that the general discussions that were occasionally sharp were also useful and interesting. It was necessary to present the starting positions of all participants, both on the essence of the subject we discussed—the political system—and on the character of our meetings at the national roundtable. I, as well as you, do not think that we wasted our time. On the contrary, the discussion allows us to advance toward the practical work related to editing the eventual agreements around which the participants will unite.

About the differences that emerged: I would like to correct certain things on the basis of our point of view. First, about the character of the state: When we speak about the socialist character and the socialist prospects of our state, we do not mean only the Constitution, but also the people's will and its expression. We think that this issue, the issue of socialism and Bulgaria and the socialist character of society, cannot be resolved by anyone other than all of the Bulgarian people. Second, we by no means see a contradiction between the socialist character of the state, and its law-governed and democratic character. As a party we are convinced that real socialism must represent total democracy. By no means should this issue be seen as an issue that divides us and the opposition or the other participants, such as the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union. I think that we all are united in our striving to construct a civic society and law-governed, parliamentary, and democratic state in our country. For me this is the optimistic conclusion of the talks so far. We have a basis on which we all can stand. The fact that some adhere to socialism, while others do not think that this should be incorporated in the Constitution, and yet others oppose socialism or at least its past character, does not diminish the importance of the fact that we have a unity, a similar view on the necessity of constructing a law-governed state and real parliamentarism in Bulgaria. Thus, I would not only emphasize the negative aspects or the differences, but also the common factors. I think that the common factors are the most important ones in this case.

About the party organizations: We did not express a categorical opinion on this issue because this issue will be discussed by the forthcoming party congress, and it will also discuss the party's organizational structure and the changes and reforms that must take place from an organizational-structural point of view. As I said at our previous meeting, presenting the BCP social positions, we think that the issue could be resolved in two ways: either by abolishing all political organizations at the places of work, or by allowing the presence of all those who would like to have such organizations.

True, the danger emerges that the civic and political tension could deteriorate. However, it also is true that in many democratic countries nobody thinks of depriving people of organizing themselves in any way they want—where they work and live, on the basis of their professional or other interests, and so forth. This is a process that is characteristic of the present democratic society. Thus, the issue is not as simple as it seems, and we could not resolve it categorically. However, we understand very well that this is an issue related not only to the BCP and all Bulgarian parties. I personally think that this issue should be resolved in terms of anything related to its social rather than its internal party aspect when we discuss the status of the political parties in Bulgaria, their rights and obligations toward society, and the Law on Parties. However, I would like to point out that regardless of how we resolve this issue, we as a party do not claim a monopoly in any sphere of our social, political, cultural, or economic life. Furthermore, we do not claim that the party organizations have any monopoly positions at work places, or have special rights to interfere in the life of the nonparty members, or in the work of the administrative or economic organs. On the contrary, we are convinced that this practice must be stopped and that the party organizations, if they exist at the work places, will deal only with the tasks of the party and internal party life, but not with problems that do not belong to them. I mean problems of the entire collective, the administrative leadership, the comprehensive life of a certain unit, and so forth. On this matter our position is clear.

Now, about the repressive apparatus. Of course I would like first of all to disassociate myself from the claim that the present apparatus or structure of the organs of the Ministry of the Internal Affairs is the basis of the BCP's monopoly on power and its privileges for the simple reason that we not only relinquished the constitutional foundation of the party's monopoly on power, but also, as a party, we continue an active process of practically eliminating all of this monopoly on power. We are doing this and will continue to do it. The process of reforms in the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs is continuing. You are familiar with the State Council decree, according to which the party structures in those all-nation organs, placed above the party, were banned. This also attests to the serious intentions of the BCP to follow the logic of the process of the democratization and demonopolization of Bulgarian political life. I am glad to inform you that Minister Semerdzhiev accepted the invitation of the roundtable. I propose that at our next plenary meeting, which I propose to set for 6 February, we should devote time to Minister Semerdzhiev, who will inform us about the visions of the ministry's leadership about the reform of the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and answer questions of the participants, if they want to do this. He has no objections to answering questions. Thus, also in this area I do not think that the differences are such that they would prevent an agreement about the role of those organs in the new political system. In any event, the steps that are being taken are sufficiently serious and have already caused a change.

About dividing the functions of the party and the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union and the state: I think that in principle there are no differences between us on this issue. Naturally, the issue has an immediate aspect—the activity of the parties that existed until now—and an additional, constitutional aspect—the activity of the parties in general. We must not only ensure the separation of the functions and remove the elements of merging between the existing parties and the state and its organs, but we must also provide constitutional and legislative guarantees so that this is not repeated in the future by any party—old, new, or restored parties alike. This is so because this is one of the basic guarantees of the stable character of democracy and its irreversible character in Bulgaria. Thus, on this issue too we will have no problems. Nobody should have such a possibility in the future.

I would also like to point out and stress that we understand this necessity and responsibility. Our line is a line of separation—not only separating the functions of the party and the state, but also separating the parties in general and the state [words indistinct]. As far as the party's financial situation is involved, we are preparing a statement on the party's financial situation and property, and we will present it both to the entire Bulgarian public and to the participants in the roundtable. We think that this is necessary, and by the way, this must be a fundamental characteristic of our party mechanisms and our legislature. This is a fundamental, specific issue that affects all political parties, and I think that we shall agree that in the future all parties should report on their financial situation and property to society.

Finally, Mr Chairman, I would like to touch upon two additional matters.

The first is the issue about which I originally wanted to speak and for which i requested the floor, namely, the present socioeconomic situation. All society understands that the socioeconomic sphere is the decisive area for the success of the entire process of democratization in Bulgaria. Without resolving the most pressing economic problems and ensuring the stability of our economy and the preconditions of its further growth, we not only will create serious difficulties for the entire population, for all citizens in their daily life, but also will put a question mark over all our intentions, including our political intention to overcome the crisis and head along the road of decisive democratization. I mean not only the economic reform and its principles and main directions, forms, and methods. We shall return to this issue when we reach the third section of the plan for our work. I mean current, pressing problems of our socioeconomic life. We had the opportunity to consult the Provisional Executive Committee of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions on this issue. I must say that we reached the common conclusion that the roundtable should respond to this concern of society about the state of our economy and the negative tendencies, which unfortunately are strengthening. Therefore I propose to all participants, Mr Chairman, to devote time to this issue, or group of issues, at our next meeting on 6 February.

Naturally, before the discussion we shall provide the necessary information. Without this there can be no serious discussion, and thus we accept the considerations of many participants. We shall prepare such information both in oral and written form, and shall acquaint the participants with the government's assessment of the economic situation and the prevailing trends, as well as the ensuing consequences and dangers for the social spheres. Thus I request, that perhaps not immediately, because you will have to hold consultations first, but during the meeting, we reach a decision on this matter. For our part, Comrade Belchev will represent our views. He is directly participating in working out the economic program. Comrade Daskalova, who is a member of the Government, can also do the same. This applies to the representatives of the trade unions and other public figures or organizations that would like to take part in such consultations. We can hold it at the roundtable itself, or as a separate meeting outside the framework of the roundtable.

The second and final area I wanted to address is related to the declaration of our creative unions, which yesterday was addressed to you and us. They would like to be represented at the roundtable, because they do not feel themselves sufficiently respected or independent within the framework of the status that they have received.

I would propose to think about this, because this is an issue related to creative unions that are not affiliated with any party. They are creative unions that unconditionally have their place not only in our intellectual and cultural life, but also in our political life. They are creative unions that also before 10 November 1989 had a remarkable role in the struggle against the autocratic system. Some of you were members of such unions. It would be very inconvenient, unjust, and even damaging to the interests of the roundtable if they are compelled not to take a part here.

I think that we should think again about this issue. I would only like to express the opinion of the BCP delegation, that we could find a solution to this situation without breaking the procedural framework that we have agreed on. I urge the other participants here to think about it. If you do not oppose my view, I think that one of the possible variants is that we both allocate a special quota in our delegation to those unions. There can also be other variants. I again appeal to you to consider this. I do not demand an immediate reply, but I would like to stress that the absence of the major creative unions from this roundtable obviously weakens its authority and intellectual possibilities.

Thank you for your attention.

Relay of Sofia Roundtable Talks

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[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 0800 GMT on 29 January begins a live relay from the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia of the roundtable talks between representatives of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and the independent opposition groups.

According to the announcer, the subject for discussion today is "The Political System of the Country."

At 0808 GMT Zhelyu Zhelev, leader of the delegation of the Union of Democratic Forces, opens the meeting and lists "four areas of disagreement" between the two delegations: The character of the state; the disbanding of BCP organizations in places of work; the disbanding of the repressive apparatus; and differences about the separation between the BCP and state structures.

At 0815 Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the BCP delegation, delivers a 22-minute statement. He mentions that because of previous commitments related to the BCP Congress, he will have to leave the talks early. The BCP delegation will not take a stand on the party organizations, he says because this issue will be discussed by the forthcoming party congress. The BCP does not claim monopoly in any area, Lukanov says, including having party organizations at the places of work. He says he supports the principle of separation between the BCP and the state, and in the near future the BCP will reveal information about its financial affairs.

At 0838 GMT Svetla Daskalova, leader of the delegation of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, reads an 8-minute statement of the BZNS, calling for a government of national consensus, including the participation of the opposition parties and movements, complete dismantling of the totalitarian structures, and opening up Bulgaria to the world.

At 0847 GMT a named representative of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) makes a 7-minute poorly monitorable statement on Bulgaria's foreign trade balances and international indebtedness. He proposes the formation of a commission to investigate those responsible for Bulgaria's present critical economic position, and also proposes a complete reorganization of the Bulgarian National Bank. The speaker goes on to allege that members of the BCP and others are "exerting pressure on members of the UDF."

After a short debate, Andrey Lukanov, leader of the BCP delegation, begins a speech at 0856 GMT "restating" the BCP stance concerning a goverment of national consensus. He goes on to speak on Bulgaria's foreign exchange and economic position, and ends his statement at 0903 GMT.

The next speaker is Yanko Yankov of the Social Democratic Party. In a 5-minute statement he attacks the publicaton of an information bulletin which reflects only the positions of the ruling parties. He goes on to complain of faults with his private telephone, alleging eavesdropping by the State Security, which he accuses of continuing widespread illegal actions.

At 0909 GMT a representative of the Radical Party, takes the floor, saying he has been asked by Elka Konstantinova, the party's chairman, to set out the party's program. The party, according to the speaker, stands for democratic pluralism, broad dialogue in society, tolerance for other political views, and struggle against the BCP's attempts to maintain its "privileged position."

At 0915 GMT Bakalov, from an opposition "club" for defense of persons repressed under the former regime, makes a general statement, calling among other things for "pluralism" and "true parliamentarism," and offering general support for the UDF declaration. He ends his 8-minute speech at 0923 GMT.

At 0923 GMT Georgiev, representative of the Komsomol, states his organization's position. He first explains the need to radically reorganize the Septemvriyche Children's organization, eliminating all political content, and then calls for various amendments to the Constitution. He ends his 6-minute speech at 0929 GMT.

At 0929 GMT an unidentified "independent member of parliament" makes a statement on lack of opportunity for nonmembers of parties to make their views known, calls for speedy adoption of a new electoral law, constitutional amendments, and other legislation needed for the holding of truly free elections. The speaker then calls for a "new composition of the executive power," and for the participation of nonparty members in the coalition government.

At 0935 a member of the opposition Democratic Party explains his party's platform, attacks the "nomenklatura cadres" of the BCP and calls for further measures to guarantee freedom of information before the elections. He attacks Fatherland Front organization as "an anachronism" at the end of his 8-minute speech.

At 0943 Todorov of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union (BZNS) makes a poorly monitorable statement on his party's new political program, ending at 0955 GMT.

After a brief interjection on reforming land use legislation by Prof. Aleksandur Yankov from the BCP, Rumen Vodenicharov, from the Independent Association for Defense of Human Rights, begins speaking at 0957 GMT. His speech mainly consists of an attack on the human rights track record of the BCP, shedding doubt on whether it can reform itself into a truly democratic party, and criticizing the way it has dealt with the nationality issue, calling this "a compromise solution." He ends his 8-minute speech at 1005 GMT.

After a 2-minute general exchange, Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the session, gives the floor at 1007 GMT to Aleksandur Alekseyev of the Independent Peace Movement, who presents his organization's platform in a 9-minute speech.

At 1016 GMT two representatives of independent students associations are invited by Zhelev to make "brief statements." The first speaker sets out the students demands for democratic political reforms in a 4-minute speech; the second representative calls for more attention to human rights, especially the restoration of Muslim rights and freedoms, in a mostly unmonitorable 6-minute speech ending at 1026 GMT.

There follows an mostly indistinct speech by a UDF representative who presents the views of the Committee on National Reconciliation on resolving the ethnic issue. He proposes to investigate the "distortions in the sphere of the ethnic issue," and publish all facts on this issue. He completes his speech at 1035 GMT.

At 1036 GMT Zhelev moves to close the morning session, proposing an afternoon session of 90 minutes. Svetla Daskalova objects "because of a meeting of the Council of Ministers." A mostly indistinct discussion results.

The live relay ends at 1037 GMT.

Politburo Orders Dissolution of Army BCP Bodies

AU2601201490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 26 Jan 90

["Statement by Lieutenant General Radnyu Minchev, spokesman of the Ministry of National Defense of the People's Republic of Bulgaria"]

[Text] By Decision No 18 of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] dated 24 January 1990, the political organs and BCP and Komsomol organizations in the Armed Forces are disbanded.

Decree No 126 of the State Council, also dated 24 January 1990, has just been issued on creating organs for supervising the educational work with military servicemen and employees in the Armed Forces. The main task of these organs is to educate the personnel in a patriotic spirit and in permanent readiness to defend the sovereignty of the homeland and the peaceful labor of the people.

The disbandment of the political organs and BCP and Komsomol organizations in the Bulgarian People's Army [BPA] provides further proof of the BCP's renunciation of its monopoly on power and its preparedness for the democratic changes that now underway in Bulgaria.

This decision is in full accordance with the repeal of paragraphs two and three of Article One of the Constitution, and is dictated by the need to preserve the unity and monolithic nature of the BPA.

With the multiparty system already being created in the country, it is impermissible for any party to build its own organizations and conduct political propaganda in the Army. This would have a negative effect on the troops' combat readiness and discipline.

The leadership of the Ministry of National Defense is well aware that with the implementation of this decision an unprecedented and painful step is being made, because the political organs and BCP and Komsomol organizations have continued for more than 40 years to carry out important [passage indistinct].

The BPA will continue in the future to be governed solely by the Constitution of the country, the orders of the supreme state and military leadership, and the national military doctrine. [passage indistinct]

The practice of military servicemen taking part in sociopolitical life outside the Army exists in many other countries. The educational work in the BPA will be conducted in a spirit of loyalty to the revolutionary and patriotic traditions of the Bulgarian people and their Army in order to form lasting soldierly and human virtues, and in a spirit of friendship and cooperation with the other Armies of the Warsaw Pact.

The leadership of the Ministry of National Defense voices its confidence that all the soldiers of the BPA will accept with deep understanding the Politburo's decision and the State Council's decree, and will work even more steadfastly and dedicatedly in the future to guarantee the sure defense of our fatherland, the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Ministry on Troops' Depolitization

AU2601225190 Sofia BTA in English 2053 GMT 26 Jan 90

["Depolitization of Defence and the Interior: Painful But Necessary Step"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 26 (BTA)—In the future the Bulgarian People's Army will be guided only by the Constitution of the country, the orders of the supreme state and military leadership and the national military doctrine, said in his statement made tonight on television Lieutenant General Radnyu Minchev, spokesman of the Ministry of National Defence.

In connection with today's decree of the State Council on the depolitization of the Ministry of Defence and the law-enforcement authorities he also said that the overall activity related to the building and development of the Bulgarian People's Army will be entirely under the control of the National Assembly.

Having in mind the multiparty system that has been set up in the country, it is impermissible to have each party forming organizations and conducting political propaganda in the Army, because it would have a negative impact on the fighting efficiency and the discipline of the troops.

The Ministry of National Defence is fully aware that with the implementation of this decision a difficult and painful step is made.

Mr Lyuben Gotsev, first deputy minister of the interior, made a statement on television in the same spirit. He underlined that now primary importance is attached to the principle of making the Ministry of the Interior units independent of the political parties and fully subordinating them to the legislature and the executive. This approach gives absolute priority to the fulfilment of their professional duties, he said.

Miners Strike, Issue Demands to Government

AU2601143290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] We have received a statement by Angel Luchkov, secretary of the Trade Union of Miners, Metallurgists, and Geologists, that, as well as reporting the basic demands of the miners, contains an appeal to the workers to refrain from strikes and protests.

There also are differing views. The Central Strike Committee of the "Podkrepa" miners unites 17 strike committees throughout the country. Kiril Atanasov, chairman of the committee and a miner at the "9 September" mine in Bukhovo for 22 years reads the miners' statement.

[Begin Atanasov recording] We have an ultimatum for the government:

1. To set 45 as the pension age of the underground miners.

2. To immediately introduce a 6-hour workday and 30-hour work week, while maintaining all present conditions related to wages, rest, and other social benefits.

3. To immediately increase the basic wage by 50 percent, while increasing additional payments for injuries and specific labor conditions 3 percent.

4. To immediately introduce common labor regulations for miners in all branches.

5. To determine that compensation for work accidents and chronic illnesses will be 100 percent of the gross wage during the last 6 months.

6. To not allow anyone younger than 23 to work as underground miners.

We expect a response from the government by 1800 [1600 GMT] today. If our demands are not accepted, we will demand the resignation of the government at the meeting that we shall organize at 1400 [1200 GMT] tomorrow in the Southern Park.

These demands are ultimatums. As far as all other issues are concerned, we from the "Podkrepa" Independent Miners Trade Union insist on direct talks with the government. [End recording]

Government Submits to Miners' Strike Demands

AU2601204790 Sofia BTA in English 2030 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 26 (BTA)—The miners' strikes which overnight spread avalanche-like all over the country are called off. By a decree the government gave a positive answer to the strikers' major demand for grading up their labour to a higher category. Miners will be pensioned off at the age of 45 after a total of 15 years of service, seven years and a half of which are under ground.

A representative of the Podkrepa Miners' Trade Union this evening announced on television that as of tonight all miners should go back to work in the mines because an agreement was reached for negotiations with representatives of the government to discuss other demands of the miners.

A governmental commission has been set up, headed by Georgi Nachev, chairman of the Committee for Labour, which will study all proposals made by companies, organizations and individual labour collectives and make an overall evaluation of the labour categorization in the national economy on pensioning off people. The commission is to make its competent proposals to the Council of Ministers by the end of June this year.

In the appeal of the parliamentary group of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) addressed to all United Agrarians it is underlined that all strikes should be called off at this moment when great efforts are made for the achievement of national concord and unity. The national economy is in a real danger of destabilization. The strikes will also hinder the just and democratic solution to the problems of labour categorization and the other social problems, it is said in the appeal.

Bakery Manager Denies Strike Rumor

AU2601143790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Ivan Ivanov, general manager of the bread-producing enterprise in Sofia called us a few moments ago and told us the following:

[Begin Ivanov recording] We have heard that there has been panic in Sofia in connection with a rumor that workers of the bread-producing plant will strike tomorrow and there will be no bread. I would like to allay the citizens' fears and tell them that everything is normal and that there is enough bread. Production is normal and proceeding according to plan, thus people should purchase their bread as usual and in a calm manner. [End recording]

Ethnic Roundtable in Shumen; Rallies Elsewhere

AU2701194890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] The contradictions, sharp clashes of views, and polarization of convictions are continuing to decrease. This was the general assessment with regard to the work of the third roundtable talks on the nationality issue, held today in the Vasil Drumev Drama Theater in Shumen. Slowly and painfully, steps are being taken toward finding ways for understanding, eliminating the disunity, and advancing toward a united, democratic, and law- governed Bulgaria.

Taking part in the dialogue were dozens of representatives from the party, associations, alliances, and unions.

The regional leadership of the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation organized a rally today in the Balkan Cinema in Plovdiv. The rally rejected outright the moratorium imposed on rallies, strikes, and demonstrations. According to the speakers, this is a further attempt by the nomenclatura class to hold up the democratic processes in society, by depriving the country's citizens of the only accessible forms of protest. It was stated that such actions do not hinder the work of the roundtable, but rather act as a spur for it.

Also in Plovdiv today, a protest meeting took place outside the entrance of the Dimitur Blagoev Nonferrous Metals Combine. The rally was attended by thousands of people from Asenovgrad, Krumovo, Kuklen, Yagodovo, and Plovdiv, who had suffered for almost 30 years from the combine's production activities.

The speakers made outright demands that the production of lead and zinc production departments should be immediately shut down, as this had caused serious damage to over 30,000 dectares of fertile land and to the health of the population.

In Varna today, the city branch of Union of Democratic Forces organized a rally under the slogan: Democratization through immediate Changes. The basic standpoints and views of the speakers concerning the process of democratization in Bulgaria were expressed in the resolution adopted at the rally, addressed to the National Assembly and the Varna City and Oblast People's Councils.

Independent Unions Call on Government To Resign

AU2701194490 Sofia BTA in English 1828 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 27 (BTA)—The leadership of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions called for the resignation of the incumbent government. "We want a strong and competent government enjoying support from all public and political forces and working resolutely and radically to overcome the crisis, taking into account the actual condition of the population and guided by the people's vital interests," the trade unions leadership says in a statement.

The Interim Executive Committee of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions emphasizes that the country is on the verge of an economic disaster. People's living standards and social security deteriorate with every passing day. At the same time the government's decisions and actions show that it has lost control of the situation. The crisis deepens and its negative effects multiply.

The statement says that while the country confronts the complications of a surging strike wave, the government works fitfully, hesitantly and short-sightedly. By its inaction and halfway decisions, the government has led to a further exacerbation of social tension. On these grounds, the leadership of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions assesses that the incumbent government is not in a position to suggest and implement effective measures to prevent an economic catastrophe.

The Interim Executive Committee of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions calls on workers to refrain from strike action.

Independent Union Draft Documents Published

AU1101192290

[Editorial Report] Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian on 9 January on pages 2 and 3 publishes the following three draft documents:

a) on page 2, a 1,200-word draft of "Basic Proposals of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions for a General Agreement With the Bulgarian Government";

b) on page 2, a 1,500-word draft of a "Law on Settling Collective Labor Disputes," prepared by the Provisional Executive Committee of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions; and

c) on page 3, a 1,300-word "Draft Platform for a Democratic Women's Union," prepared by "the Commission for Drafting Alternative Platforms for a New Women's Organization."

Document a) is published for the purpose of promoting wide discussion of its proposals; the "Basic Proposals" are set out under the following seven main headings:

"1. On guaranteeing the right to work and employment";
"2. On fair payment for labor";
"3. On guaranteed social security";
"4. On the social development of the labor collectives";
"5. On guaranteeing safe and healthy working conditions";
"6. On providing rest and recreation for the workers"; and
"7. On democratization of the management of economic activity."

Document b), the draft law on settling collective labor disputes, contains 15 articles, followed by five paragraphs of "Additional and Concluding Provisions," laying down a detailed procedure for settling labor disputes by direct employer-employee negotiations, with provision for independent arbitration if these negotiations fail, and also specifying the conditions under which strikes may be called. Among other things, Article 7, paragraph 1 states that "the participation in strikes is voluntary. No one may be compelled to participate or refuse to participate in a strike," and Article 11 contains provisions for an employer to apply to the court for a strike to be declared illegal.

Document c), the draft platform for a Democratic Women's Union, states that the platform is based on the following four principles:

"Equality, understood not merely as the final elimination of... discrimination, but primarily as equality of opportunity for the individual woman to fulfill and realize herself."

"Justice, understood as the priority concern of the state and society for the socially weak—young and large families, children, and pensioners living below the social minimum."

"The participation...of women in the government of the country, its regions, and the various spheres and branches of the state structure...."

"Liberty, understood as a combination of conditions for human existence...that ensures the development and application of women's energy for the common benefit, with free choice of political and religious leanings and of world view...."

The second part of the document defines the women's demands and tasks "in the socioeconomic field," "in the political field," and "in the organizational field."

Gen Dzhurov Addresses National Assembly

AU1701130090 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 16 Jan 90 pp 1,3

["Statement" of Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, to the 13th session of the Ninth National Session held in Sofia on 15 January]

[Text] Comrade people's deputies, little more than 2 months have elapsed since 10 November 1989. That was a dynamic time. The multifaceted problems of the grave legacy left to us by the authoritarian regime were brought to the forefront. All the people have already been occupying themselves with these problems, which has immensely increased the degree of their politicization. The citizens are manifesting a desire for all problems to be settled as speedily as possible, and this is fully understandable. However, each one of these problems requires an appropriate approach, in accordance with its nature; each problem requires a greater or lesser amount of resources, whether financial or material, and also requires science and dexterous, skillful organization. There are very many other requirements that exert an influence over the dynamics of the processes in public life, and make it necessary for the problems to be resolved successively by stages.

I have made these preliminary comments in order to emphasize that now society is building, restructuring, and renewing itself in a truly revolutionary situation, one in which we are living and working, and this makes it necessary to render account when resolving all the pressing problems.

At the last National Assembly session, I made a brief speech on the question of the strength and maintenance of the Bulgarian People's Army [BPA], and made a proposal that a law on the country's defense should be adopted by the National Assembly.

At the present National Assembly session, I would like to acquaint the people's deputies with three important problems in the wide range of issues concerning the construction of the Army.

First, on the building up of the Armed Forces.

The building up of the Armed Forces embraces a wide range of problems, connected with the following:

—building the Army's organizational structure;

—supplying the Army with all necessary modern weapons for warfare;

—training highly qualified commissioned and noncommissioned officer cadres;

—organizing the combat training of soldiers on fixed terms of service and building a modern training materials base; and

—drafting up-to-date training courses and programs and developing suitable teaching and methodological approaches and aids, together with the creation and application in troop training of a contemporary military doctrine, military science, and art of war.

These are basically the range of problems relating to the construction of the modern Army.

Second, on the factors affecting the building up of the Armed Forces.

We may divide these under the headings of internal and external factors.

a) Internal factors.

First, the policy conducted by our country in the domestic and international fields. The country's internal and foreign policies were clearly outlined at the 10 November 1989 plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and at the subsequent plenums.

This new political course of profound revolutionary reforms that our country has adopted will substantially influence the further development of the BPA.

Second, the strategic geographical position that Bulgaria occupies in the southwestern theater of military operations, in particular in the Balkan strategic sector, and our commitments to our Warsaw Pact allies.

As all of us know, in my speech at the last session I stressed that the People's Republic of Bulgaria shares a border with Turkey, which possesses the second largest army in NATO after the United States.

Third, the human potential of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and the moral-political condition and national features of our people.

Fourth, the state and possibilities of the economy, the technological standard of production, the infrastructure of Bulgaria, and so on.

Fifth, the national and allied military doctrines.

As we know, the May 1987 Berlin conference of the Political Consultative Committee adopted a new defensive doctrine of the Warsaw Pact states. On the basis of this doctrine, we developed a national defensive doctrine of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

This is exerting a marked effect upon the Army's strength and structure, training plans and programs, operational skills and tactics, methods of training the military cadres, the teaching materials base, and so on.

b) External factors.

First, the global foreign policy that NATO is conducting in reality. This has different aspects in the individual continents, theaters of military operations, and regions.

Second, NATO's military doctrine on the global continental and regional scales. It continues to be based on the "Strategy of Flexible Response," "Forward Defense," and so forth, which do not exclude launching a sudden attack, making a first nuclear strike, a first mass air strike, and so on.

Third, the technical and technological level of the NATO armed forces and the plans for developing their armed forces until the end of the century (the year 2000).

Fourth, the results of the Vienna negotiations on strategic nuclear forces, on reducing armed forces and weapons, on naval forces, on tactical nuclear weapons, on banning nuclear tests and chemical weapons, and so on.

Fifth, East-West relations on the global scale—how they will develop, and at what rates and with what dynamics the new political thinking will spread.

All the internal and external factors, together with the dynamics of their changes, must be taken into account when building the Army.

In connection with the foregoing, I would like to emphasize that over the past 45 years the Ministry of National Defense has always tried to have an adequate plan for developing the Army, and it has made appropriate changes in accordance with the dynamics of these factors and the appearance of new ones.

We once again updated our plan following the 10 November 1989 plenum and the subsequent plenums. The third issue covered by my statement concerns this. It relates to the plan of the Ministry of National Defense for the restructuring of the BPA.

Our public is showing justifiable interest in this issue. I will attempt to briefly outline our basic views and the concept for their implementation.

The first trend in the development of the BPA is to base the Army on the two main principles stemming from the collective and national defensive military doctrines.

The first principle is the principle of reasonable sufficiency. As you know, in applying this principle, in January 1989 we made a unilateral cut in the BPA's strength and weapons and carried out a number of organizational and structural changes that give the Army an exclusively defensive character. This line will continue to be followed by us in the future, while the extent and rate at which it will be applied will be determined by the results of the Vienna talks and the practical actions of our southern neighbors.

The second principle is to lay the stress on quality parameters at the expense of quantitative ones. This principle affects several aspects of the restructuring, namely:

—first and foremost, the base of the modern scientific and technical achievements and technologies, and the introduction of intelligent equipment for waging war;

—automation of the control of troops and weapons;

—high professional training of cadres at all levels, including other ranks; and

—raising the standard of ideological training work in order to instill in the soldiers love for their native land and readiness to sacrifice themselves at the altar of their fatherland.

The second trend concerns developing and perfecting the basic legal acts according to which the BPA lives and works, such as the statutes, instructions, codes of regulations, and so on.

This undoubtedly can be carried out following the adoption of the new constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the law on the Armed Forces, and the law on the country's defense. The Ministry of National Defense will take an active part in the drafting of these acts.

Third trend: revising and further improving the curricula and training programs of the higher education establishments and the Army as a whole.

Fourth trend: further building up the BPA on the single-command principle, while at the same time expanding "democracy and glasnost" in conformity with the specific nature of the Army's organism.

Fifth trend: developing a new concept for educational work in the BPA.

The rapid politicization of our people following 10 November 1989 also encompassed the personnel of the Armed Forces, including the BPA. The soldiers of the BPA spontaneously supported the new political course and the subsequent practical measures along the road of renewal. They also approved the decision of the plenum of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of 29 December 1989. The personnel of the Armed Forces, including the BPA, also supports the repeal of paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article 1 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which the National Assembly has repealed today.

This new political course and these practical measures demand substantial changes in the contents of political education work, in the structure of the organs of leadership, in the performance of their work, and in the definition of the role and place of the party and Komsomol organizations in the Army.

The need arises for developing new programs for educational work, with the aim of educating personnel in patriotism, readiness to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the homeland, and the peaceful labor of the people, and fulfillment of our obligations to our allies.

We are already working on these matters, and the complete realization of this concept of ours in the course of time will depend on the time needed to draft and adopt the new constitution, the law on the Armed Forces, and the law on defense.

This, in brief, is our program and our concept for its implementation.

In this context, I would like to emphasize that these are exceptionally complex problems, and because of this they must be resolved after considering them in the greatest depth, carried out consistently and in stages. The special characteristics of the Balkan strategic sector require us under no circumstances to allow the BPA's combat readiness to be weakened.

In addition, as I stressed earlier, we must also take into consideration the decisions that are being adopted in Vienna on disarmament.

In realizing our concept, we must display sober judgment and a high sense of responsibility, in the name of the supreme interests of the people and the country.

In conclusion, I would like to express my own profound conviction, and the conviction of our soldiers, that we will be supported by the National Assembly and the Bulgarian people in our efforts to further develop the BPA as a modern army and as a worthy defender of the people's interests and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our homeland, the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Thank you for your attention!

General Dobrev Discusses Military Doctrine

AU1701185590 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 11 Jan 90 pp 1, 4

[Report on interview with Colonel General Khristo Dobrev, "first deputy minister of national defense and commander of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army," by "a representative of the NARODNA ARMIYA Editorial Board;" date and place not given—"For Equal Security at the Lowest Military Level"]

[Text] The fifth session of the talks of the 35 on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe opens on 16 January in Vienna. The session will begin with a seminar on the national military doctrines of the CSCE participating states. On this occasion, a representative of the NARODNA ARMIYA Editorial board met and talked with Colonel General Khristo Dobrev, participant in the Bulgarian delegation to the session.

[Question] Comrade Colonel General, you will participate in the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the Vienna seminar on the military doctrines that will take place from 16 January to 5 February. Could you describe the goals of the seminar?

[Dobrev] First of all, I would like to point out that the seminar on the military doctrines is an important political result of the talks of the 35 on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe. In fact, thus we implement the idea that was proposed at the 1987 Berlin meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member countries.

It has been envisioned to discuss in Vienna several groups of issues related to the national military doctrines of the negotiating countries. Of course, one should not expect to resolve all problems in this sphere within the framework of the seminar, especially as it is well known that the military doctrines are subject to constant development and elaboration. However, the fact that such a seminar is taking place is remarkable by itself. This is a unique meeting of high-ranking military leaders from 35 countries, which has no precedent in postwar Europe. The high level of representation speaks of the importance attributed to this forum: Almost all delegations are led by the commanders of the general staffs and include other responsible figures from the ministries of defense.

It is to be expected that the seminar will give a new impetus to further conducting the talks of the 35 and to the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe. Our delegation is seriously approaching its participation and is ready to present the position of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on all issues, and first of all, on the issue of the national military doctrine's essence.

[Question] What are the basic premises of the Bulgarian national military doctrine?

[Dobrev] The military doctrine of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is based on the Constitution and the legal documents adopted by the National Assembly. It reflects the essence of the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member countries, which was adopted on 30 May 1987, and takes note of the country's specific characteristics. It also is coordinated with the strict observance of all obligations that spring from the UN Charter, the universal norms of international law, and the concluding documents of the CSCE meeting—first of all the principles of sovereign equality, respecting the rights inherent to sovereignty, refraining from the use of force or threats against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, and the inviolability of Europe's borders and the territorial integrity of all states.

The military doctrine of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is a system of official views of the higher state and military leadership on preventing wars and adherence to comprehensively strengthening peace, constructing the Armed Forces, training the Bulgarian People's Army and the citizens for repelling possible aggression, and developing means of conducting armed struggle for defending the Bulgarian people's freedom and independence.

It is impossible to present in detail the military doctrine within the framework of a brief conversation. Therefore, I shall present several basic elements.

The following is the essence of the military doctrine of the People's Republic of Bulgaria:

The People's Republic of Bulgaria does not threaten anybody. Under no circumstances will it be the first to begin military actions against any state or alliance of states, and it will use weapons only if it itself becomes the target of an armed attack. It strives to resolve all disputed issues with all states only by peaceful means. Bulgaria has no territorial claims toward any of its neighbors, and does not consider any state or people as an enemy. We construct our relations with all states on the basis of mutual respect, preserving the existing borders, mutual security, and peaceful coexistence, regardless of the political system of the states, or their belonging to different military-political groups. The People's Republic of Bulgaria does not allow propaganda of war and armed violence, as well as national and religious hostility and racial hatred. We adhere to equal security at the lowest possible level of the military potential. Our government is making active efforts to achieve political agreements on disarmament.

The Bulgarian military doctrine is based on the principle of reasonable sufficiency. The country's defense is based on military cooperation with the other Warsaw Pact member countries, and first of all with the USSR. In case of a military provocation or armed aggression, the People's Republic of Bulgaria will mobilize all forces of the Army and the people with the view to repel the possible aggression and restore the country's territorial integrity with the assistance of its allies.

Not producing nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, and having no such weapons on its territory, the People's Republic of Bulgaria insistently adheres to banning their proliferation and use, and eliminating the existing quantity of such weapons.

The essence of the military-technical aspect of the military doctrine of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is determined by circumstances such as: Bulgaria's geostrategic location at the crossroad between Europe, Asia, and Africa and in immediate proximity to two NATO countries, which have a great military potential and powerful armies near our southern borders; the changes in international relations, including relations between the Balkan states, which generally are positive, despite the fact that the peaceful processes are yet to acquire an irreversible character; the character of possible wars under contemporary conditions, and so forth. Such circumstances dictate the necessary measures of guaranteeing the security of the state. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has a military potential that allows it, on the basis of the principle of reasonable sufficiency, to defend the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The presence of nuclear equipment in the neighboring NATO states, as well as the existence of nuclear reactors and major chemical, biochemical, and pharmaceutics plants on the territory of the Balkan states, which can be destroyed even with conventional weapons, could inflict great damage and requires that the Armed Forces and the population are prepared to act under conditions of radioactive and chemical contamination.

The defensive activities in the initial stages of the war, in anything related to their tactical, operational, and strategic aspects, have great importance. The defensive direction of our doctrine requires that we thoroughly organize our defense at the beginning of the war, and use it as a detaining means that would prevent the aggressor from undertaking further military actions. In this context, we decrease the quantity of strike means—first of all tanks and motorized infantry units from the first echelon, while simultaneously we increase the quantity of antitank weapons, antiaircraft weapons, and other defensive means.

Improving the quality of the Armed Forces is a priority direction in their training. This is determined by the state and trends in the development of the armed forces of the neighboring NATO states; the specific situation of the Balkan strategy; the requirements related to ensuring the reasonable defense sufficiency; the country's economic possibilities; and its obligations within the Warsaw Pact framework. The construction of the Armed Forces, and all military training regulations, charters, and programs are being coordinated with the defensive doctrine and the requirement to train the troops for acting under complex circumstances. Maintaining high combat readiness and not allowing a sudden strike are in the center of our attention.

The country's defense expenditures are determined on the basis of the aforementioned factors.

[Question] In this context, could you please demonstrate the dynamics of our military expenditures in recent years?

[Dobrev] Yes, this issue requires special attention. The data is as follows:

1986—1,6713 million leva;
1987—1,728 million leva—an increase of 15 million leva or 0.88 percent;
1988—1,751.6 million leva—an increase of 23.6 million or 1.36 percent;
1989—1,605.1 million leva—a decrease of 146.5 million or 8.36 percent.

Certain additional clarifications are necessary about the military expenditures in 1988 and 1989. The date I cited refers to the real expenditures in those years.

The military budget for 1989 to the tune of 1,825 million leva was adopted at the December 1988 National Assembly session, and this is how the fiscal year started. However, on 27 January 1989, at a joint meeting of the State Council and the Council of Ministers a decision was adopted to unilaterally decrease the personnel, weapons, and military expenditures. The 1989 military budget was decreased 12 percent (220 million leva). On this basis we redistributed the expenditures and decreased them from 1,825 to 1,605.1 million leva. The decrease mainly affected the maintenance of the Army and the supply of new weapons and combat equipment. This act was aimed at expressing the consistent peaceful policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and increasing its contribution to strengthening confidence and security in the Balkans and Europe.

Our country will be led by this principle also in the future in developing and improving its defensive military doctrine.

Deputy Defense Minister on Military Doctrine

AU1101145590 Sofia BTA in English
1140 GMT 11 Jan 90

["Bulgaria's Military Doctrine"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 11 (BTA)—Bulgaria is in favor of equal security at the lowest possible level of military capabilities, says Colonel General Khristo Dobrev, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army.

Interviewed for the NARODNA ARMIYA daily, he discusses Bulgaria's military doctrine in connection with the seminar on the national military doctrines of the participating states of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe due to be held in Vienna.

Concerning the politico-military aspect of the doctrine, the interviewee points out that Bulgaria does not pose a threat to anybody. Under no circumstances will this country be the first to start hostilities against any state or alliance of states and will only resort to the force of arms if subjected to an armed attack.

"Bulgaria has no territorial designs on any of its neighboring states and does not treat any state and people as its enemies," General Dobrev says, stressing that the Bulgarian Government is working actively towards political agreements on disarmament.

The first deputy minister of national defense emphasizes that Bulgaria does not manufacture nuclear and other mass destruction weapons and does not deploy them on its territory. This country therefore insists on a ban on their proliferation and use and on a complete elimination of stockpiles.

He points out that the technomilitary aspect of the doctrine is determined by Bulgaria's geopolitical position: the country is located on the most vital crossroads between Europe, Asia and Africa and borders on two NATO member countries.

The changes in the international relations, including inter-Balkan relations, are generally positive but the peace processes have yet to become irreversible, Colonel General Khristo Dobrev points out.

These circumstances prompt the measures needed to safeguard the security of the state. Bulgaria maintains a military capability which enables it to defend the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity proceeding from the principle of reasonable sufficiency.

Being defense-oriented, the doctrine requires that defense be organized pre-emptively at the start of a war so as to serve as a deterrent compelling a likely aggressor to refrain from launching military operations, the general emphasizes. To this end the strength of offensive armaments, and above all of tanks and mechanized infantry, is reduced, and the strength of anti-tank weapons, air defense and other defense forces is increased.

The interviewee points out that the Armed Forces develop above all in terms of quality. This is prompted by the state and the trends in the development of the armed forces of the neighboring NATO countries, by the specific situation which has emerged in the Balkans, by the requirements of defense sufficiency, by the country's economic capabilities and its commitments within the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

Discussing Bulgaria's defense spending, Colonel General Khristo Dobrev recalls the resolution of the State Council and of the Council of Ministers of one year ago whereby the numerical strength, the armaments and military spending were unilaterally reduced. Last year's military budget was cut from 1,825,000,000 leva to 1,605,100,000 leva. The latter amount was 146,500,000 leva less than the defense allocations in 1988.

Militia Appeal on Maintaining Public Order

AU1701140890 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Jan 90 p 6

[BTA report: "Appeal of the People's Militia Directorate"]

[Text] In recent days there have been numerous rallies, meetings, and other forms of mass events with the participation of thousands of citizens from Sofia and the country.

In many cases, those events were accompanied by slogans and posters hung and posted on historical and cultural monuments and in other inappropriate and unsuitable places, which undermines our people's sense of national and civic prestige.

Complaints and tipoffs about threats addressed to local officials and individual citizens, received by the territorial units of the People's Militia, give rise to acute concern.

Regardless of the motives, such actions represent a crude violation of the citizens' rights and legal interests, and of our society's laws.

Therefore, the People's Militia appeals to the leaderships and members of the political parties, public organizations, associations, and movements, and to all Bulgarian citizens, to demonstrate good sense and tolerance in their behavior and actions.

The organs of the People's Militia, in accordance with the law, will adopt all necessary measures to guarantee the safety and calm of the Bulgarian citizens and defend their interests, regardless of their political, ethnic, and religious affiliation.

Finance Minister Discusses Level of Debts

AU1201124990 Sofia BTA in English 1047 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 12 (BTA)—To stop the growing of the debts or to attract new capitals for stabilization of the economy? In an interview for NARODNA ARMIYA Mr Belcho Belchev, member of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and minister of finances, informs that an attempt will be made to preserve the level of the debts. Maybe an attempt will be also made for spacing out of the debts but after an analysis and consultations with the public in order to avoid a moment when the interest rates will become large and heavy to pay. Along with that the new ministry is of the opinion that foreign capital should be attracted in order to organize joint enterprises and companies.

The plan and the budget of this country for the present year are made in an entirely different way compared with the past, says Mr Belcho Belchev. At the March session of the National Assembly will be presented the real state of the different items. The MPs would be able to discuss and develop them further. In this way part of the questions about the subsidized enterprises and branches will also be solved. Cutting down of the expenses of the Ministry of National Defense will be carried out this year but the exact sum of the reduction of the military budget will be specified till the session of the National Assembly.

Minister Belcho Belchev expressed the opinion that all forms of property—state, cooperative, personal and private—must be equal before the law. The same refers to the new forms of management—the leasing system, the piecework system, the company organization. Equality can be carried out through financial regulators, through economic interest.

Serious changes in the tax system are not expected this year, noted Mr Belcho Belchev, and in the near future the tax policy should acquire a complete economic character. In the conditions of the market mechanism the Ministry of Finances will cooperate for the regular price formation. The tax policy will be the regulator of the relations between producer and consumer.

In connection with the facts that have been printed by the press about the existence of millionaires in Bulgaria Mr Belcho Belchev thinks that they are not seriously founded as according to the laws in Bulgaria the bank deposits have immunity and it cannot be violated without serious reasons. He informs that some investigations have been undertaken and that according to them there are 18 people who have bank accounts of above 100 thousand leva. Requests have been sent to Switzerland as well but an answer will be given only if the required information concerns persons who are cognizable for crimes recognized as such in Switzerland.

Todorov Asks Protection for National Assembly

AU1401213290 Sofira BTA in English
1917 GMT 14 Jan 90

["Stanko Todorov Wants Security Guard Around the Building of the Parliament"—BTA Headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 14 (BTA)—Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, requested from the mayor of Sofia and from the minister of the interior "respective measures" for the provision of normal conditions for work of the National Assembly.

In the letter to the mayor and to the minister, read this evening on the television, Mr Stanko Todorov points out that recently due to the public events of formal and informal organizations held around the building of the National Assembly "great, simply insurmountable difficulties for its work" have been created.

The chairman of the National Assembly requests the provision of normal conditions for work in the building by the militia.

The National Assembly will hold a session tomorrow morning. On Tuesday, in the same building, it is envisaged to hold the first round of the talks around the "round table" between representatives of the governing parties BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union] and the opposition Union of Democratic Forces.

The many-thousands rallies in front of the building of the National Assembly were held on December 14 at the time of the previous parliamentary session and in the first days of January when there was unrest in this country in connection with the resolution of the ethnic question.

Lukanov Holds Talks With Officials in Moscow

AU1201225990 Sofia BTA in English
2224 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, January 12 (BTA)—Mr Andrey Lukanov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], paid a two-day visit to Moscow.

At a meeting with Mr Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the CPSU, the two sides exchanged views on the social reforms in the two countries and on some international problems of mutual interest.

Mr Andrey Lukanov had talks with Mr Georgiy Razumovskiy, alternate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the CPSU, at which they discussed some problems of the activity of the CPSU and the BCP under the conditions of restructuring, democratization of intraparty life, strengthening the ties with the broad strata of the population and interaction with other public organizations and movements.

Mr Andrey Lukanov had also a meeting with Mr Evgeniy Primakov, alternate member of the Politburo and chairman of the Council of the Union of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. They discussed the establishment of parliamentarian systems in the two countries. In connection with the new role and the new functions of the two countries' legislative bodies a shared desire was expressed for the promotion of interparliamentary cooperation by lending it a business-like character.

Journalists' Reaction to Changes Noted

AU1101140590

[Editorial Report] Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 2 on 8 January carries two reports and an interview related to the activities of Bulgarian journalists in connection with recent changes in Bulgaria.

The first is a 300-word report on pages 8 and 9 by Georgi Drumev entitled "Meeting of Journalists Against Censorship." Drumev reports a 29 December rally in Sofia, "at which about 1,500 people, journalists and people with various professions, demanded a free press." The organizers of the rally "were mostly STURSHEL journalists," other journalists and "generally, supporters of the Union of the Democratic Forces." Petur Beron, Ecoglasnost leader, and Emil Koshlukov, leader of the Independent Student Associations, "expressed their support with the journalists' demands."

The second is a 150-word unattributed report on page 9, entitled "Free Union of TV Workers." According to the report, "A union open to all TV workers has been established." The union has "announced its independence vis-a-vis political and public organizations, and state and other administrative structures," and will "defend the social and professional rights of its members."

On pages 8 and 9 the weekly carries a 300-word interview with Vasil Stanilov, "POGLED fellow worker and friend," entitled "Article 1? I Would Like To Believe...." Stanilov conducted a hunger strike from 15 December to 1 January "demanding the repeal of Article 1 of the

Bulgarian Constitution." He says that "civic protest is a weapon that must be mastered and used." According to him "citizens throughout the country and from abroad, the 'Podkrepa' Labor Federation, the Club for Democracy and Glasnost, the 'Civic Initiative' Movement," and other public organizations "have expressed their solidarity with his demand."

Stanilov says that on 29 December "the National Assembly leadership and Premier Georgi Atanasov assured me that Article 1 will be repealed," and then he decided to end his strike.

Journalist Barred From Meeting; Protests

AU1701163690 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Jan 90 p 6

[Sergey Nakov, "'Domestic Policy' Chief Editor": "Letter to My Colleagues"]

[Text] Dear Colleagues,

I consider it my duty as a journalist to inform you about the following:

Today [12 January] a meeting was scheduled between Petur Mladenov, State Council chairman, and the leaderships of the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. As is now the practice, BTA was notified by the State Council about the time and location of the meeting so we could send a journalist to report on it.

It appears that admission passes were introduced at the Central Army Club, where the meeting took place. The BTA journalist was not admitted. He was told that General Mitko Mitkov, head of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army, had issued an order not to allow a BTA journalist into the meeting. Our representative met with uncivilized and rough behavior, and he was unceremoniously prevented from carrying out his professional duty.

Therefore, BTA was prevented from reporting on the event. If such information about the meeting is disseminated through the agency's channels, this would mean that we are not the authors, we cannot be responsible for the contents, and pressure has been applied on us to disseminate a text about which we cannot pass any judgment in connection with its objectivity and credibility in reporting the event.

Please excuse me for using BTA channels to inform you about this case, but I think that the issue should not be postponed. The issue involved is the dignity of Bulgarian journalists and their right to inform the public, and whether there will continue to be people in Bulgaria who assume the right to determine the limits of glasnost.

Khaskovo SHIPKA Journalists Defy Decision

AU1701104490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] The Khaskovo SHIPKA daily again has the status of an oblast daily, thus satisfying the demand of the 30 journalists of the newspaper. They had declared their opposition to the decision of the Politburo of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee that the newspaper operate as the organ of the BCP Khaskovo Oblast Committee. A few days ago these journalists warned that they would declare a real 10-day political strike, which was canceled after their demand was satisfied.

Eco-Glasnost Activist on Human Rights, Elections

AU1201101990 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0600 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Armin Wolf report on interview with Khristo Smolenov, activist of Bulgaria's Eco-Glasnost movement, in Vienna—recorded; date not given; Smolenov statements in English with superimposed German translation in quotation marks; passages in original English in boldface]

[Text] We are for observing all human rights and we fully support the decisions of the government concerning this question. This is what Khristo Smolenov of Eco-Glasnost says. This attitude is probably shared by most of his fellow-citizens, Smolenov thinks.

"**This campaign now does not represent the true sentiments of the Bulgarian people as a whole.** This is the nationalist card which the old nomenklatura is playing now in order to avenge itself for its defeat."

The majority, including his group, is against autonomy for the Turkish minority, Smolenov says, but not even the minority itself demands such autonomy. The Eco-Glasnost member explains the mass demonstrations of the past weeks as follows:

"**These demonstrations were a sort of great misunderstanding. They were staged by** people from the old Zhivkov regime, and the people in the street were deceived to a certain extent, namely by the abrupt change in policy concerning this question. After all, they have been manipulated by propaganda for years. In a real democracy this question is not a problem anymore. And we want such a democracy."

At the moment, this discussion is rather obstructive, he says.

"**I would say that this problem even prevents us now** from focusing all our attention on abolishing the old totalitarian structures, but this is what we should now actually be doing."

How does Eco-Glasnost assess the current political situation in Bulgaria in general? Smolenov says:

"Controversial, very controversial, because there is a reformist part of the government and of the party itself, which took up the initiative, but there is also a very strong opposition in the party against the reformist wing. These are the people who are interested in the dictatorship of the Secretariat, which replaced the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. But a dictatorship of the proletariat never existed in reality."

Smolenov has a rather positive view of Petur Mladenov, Zhivkov's successor as head of the party and the state.

"I trust in his goodwill. I am sure that he has the goodwill. However, he has a lot of difficulties and, as the former foreign minister, he is probably not aware of how dangerous the nomenclatura can be. Of course, he accepted the risk of getting into personal trouble, when he opposed Zhivkov."

Smolenov does not dare make a forecast for the free elections, which are to take place in the spring. Of course, Eco-Glasnost will run, he says; however, at the same time, the Greens Party, which developed from Eco-Glasnost, will also run. We want an intellectual and economic democracy, Smolenov says, in particular, however, an ecological democracy. According to a new poll in the capital city of Sofia, with this program Eco-Glasnost is the most popular group. Nevertheless, we do not want to rule, Smolenov says.

"For a long time in Bulgaria there has been no opposition. We understand how bad this was. Therefore, we have publicly stated that we will remain in opposition, no matter what the result of the elections will be."

For the old leadership Smolenov knows only one solution: Zhivkov and the entire Mafia surrounding him have to be put on trial, he says.

BCP Anti-Stalinist Reform Wing Proposed

AU0801162190 Sofia BTA in English
1451 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 8 (BTA)—European road of development of Bulgaria, democratic understanding of socialism, pluralism of property, de-Stalinization of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and eradication of Zhivkovism, individual liberty, national concord and reconciliation. These are the basic principles of the platform of the "Bulgarian Road to Europe".

The coordination council chaired by Prof Petur-Emil Mitev called on all Communists to organize into a broad anti-Stalinist reform wing in the BCP. The appeal of the council published today reads that in a number of cases the elections for delegates of the forthcoming congress of the BCP are passing under the well-known scenario without opportunities for real choice and competition between the different ideal wings, factions or groups, without equality as far as pre-congress propaganda is concerned.

Calling on the Communists to make everything possible for election of delegates who will support the progresive and oppose the stagnation forces the council to note the need of a modern party which could "lead Bulgaria on the road to Europe".

In an interview for NARODNA MLADEZH Professor Mitev notes that the further development of Europe is unthinkable without the restoration of the economic, political and intellectual relations connecting the different parts of the continent. He stands for the separation of the Bulgarian Communist Party from the state, for a rebirth of the social-democratic traditions in the party, for the establishing of a multy-party system "the only system known in the history of society capable of control on the activity of the governing party."

In connection with the ethnic crisis Prof Mitev explains that according to their platform "the dividing line is not passing between Bulgarians and Turks but between Stalinists and democrats". He expresses the opinion that "there is not a more sinister mixture than the combination between nationalism and socialism" and calls for tolerance and civilized attitude.

Study Shows Falling Incomes, Shortages

AU1201142590 Sofia BTA in English
1326 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 12 (BTA)—Between 1976 and 1986 nominal income grew at a considerably slower pace than in previous periods against the background of slumping economic growth rates and rising costs, according to a study of lower-income brackets conducted by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in 1987. The results of the study appear in today's OTECHESTVEN FRONT.

The per capita annual minimum of subsistence was 946 leva in 1980 and 1,607 leva in 1986. The proportion of people living at and below the poverty line grew from 14.5 per cent in 1980 to 29.2 per cent in 1986. This change for the worse is attributed to the galloping prices and to the acute shortages of consumer goods. Both factors are still active. Most people belonging to the lower-income brackets blame the bad and deteriorating living conditions mainly on social management faults.

Real wages declined in 1983 as a result of the price rises. The study found an increase in the share of expensive goods on the market. Of a total of 928 prime necessities surveyed, an average of 44.6 per cent were unavailable to a considerably varying extent on the market in different parts of the country.

In 1975-1985 real incomes grew at an average annual rate of 0.7 per cent, while social productivity of labour advanced 5.1 per cent during the same period. The purchasing power of the population tends to decline steadily. People spend more on food and on other essentials.

Komsomol Wants Youth Issue Addressed

AU1601220290

[Editorial Report] Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian on 15 January on page 1 carries a 400-word "Open Letter to the National Assembly, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria," and a 400-word "Proposal on Some Basic Considerations That Must Be Taken Into Consideration in Working out a Law on Political Parties."

The "open letter," signed by the "Bureau of the Dimitrov Komsomol," deals with the "state policy on youth issues." It points out that "the lack of a consistent state policy toward the youth, and of any appropriate state structure for conducting such policy, was the main thing that afflicted the youth union and later turned it into a 'state' institution." The demand is voiced "to pose at the National Assembly the issue of structural changes in the Council of Ministers that will envision the establishment of a state organ with the rank of a ministry that will work for resolving the youth problems."

The "proposal" on the law on a political parties demands guarantees "for the existence of political pluralism in Bulgaria, separating party and state power" and "freedom to organize political parties." In addition, legal guarantees are requested for the "equality of the political parties before the law and the state," "a ban on the existence of political parties in the organs of the Ministry of Internal affairs, the Ministry of National Defense, the judicial branch, and other state organs." In conclusion, the "proposal" demands a "ban on the establishment of parties that profess fascism, racism, and the violation of basic human rights, or parties whose programs and actions evoke national division along ethnic or religious lines."

DUNAVSKA PRAVDA BCP Disbanded

AU1601151390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] After assessing the qualitative changes in the country's sociopolitical situation after 10 November, and the increased responsibility of the mass media under the new conditions, the Communists in the Editorial Board of Ruse's newspaper DUNAVSKA PRAVDA decided at their annual accountability-election meeting that their party organization will cease its existence at their place of work.

The Ruse journalists have expressed the unanimous opinion that DUNAVSKA PRAVDA will further assert itself as an objective tribune of all democratic and progressive forces in the municipality.

Exhibition of Zhivkov Cartoons Opens in Sofia

AU1301180890 Sofia BTA in English 1437 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 13 (BTA)—An unprecedented exhibition featuring 499 cartoons of the ex-dictator Todor Zhivkov was opened here. Several weeks ago the cartoons have still been kept in the safes of the State Security Department as "socially dangerous," so each of them has an accurate number set in the upper left corner. The author of the cartoons, drawings, lithographs and water colors is the artist Todor Tsonev, who in the course of 30 years has led a "one-man war with the one-man dictatorship and its most ardent defenders," writes today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

The Bulgarian public sees pictures of this kind for the first time, but it has seen a lot of others, because during the years of totalitarian rule a number of artists did not submit to the temptation to become favourites of the rulers, painting and exhibiting their portraits.

Todor Tsonev has been a pupil of the distinguished Bulgarian artist Iliya Beshkov. "The conviction that I protect man and justice gave me courage during the years of struggle and creative work," says Todor Tsonev, who has been repressed a number of times by the State Security in the past.

Interior Ministry Denies Coup Rumors

LD2601133590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] In the last few days, an alarmist rumor has been spread among the general public about the alleged preparation of a coup d'etat.

The Federal Ministry of Interior has not discovered in this connection any possible circumstances which would indicate that such an event would occurr. In spite of this, in order to reinforce the security and ensure the calm of citizens, a decision has been made to reinforce the order-keeping forces of the public security corps with troops of the Ministry of Interior who would be identified by a red-blue-white tricolor as a sign that, in harmony with the wish of our population, they protect democracy and freedom.

The minister of interior has also been given a letter from the state-wide assembly of the members of National Security Corps' independent trade unions. On behalf of 530,000 members, it expresses complete support for the current leadership of the Ministry of Interior and that they will thoroughly implement all tasks which the government will establish for them.

Civic Forum Denies Rumors

LD2601201690 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1900 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] The Civic Forum Coordination Center has reacted to a report by the independent press center that a coup d'etat is allegedly to be attempted at the end of January or the beginning of February. Such a report was included yesterday in a broadcast by Civic Forum of Czechoslovak Radio, which repeated it this morning.

The Civic Forum Coordination Center announces that this report did not originate from among its ranks, and the broadcast was made without consultation. It endorses a stance taken by Interior Minister Richard Sacher, who said that the information was not confirmed, and like him, is convinced that such information is aimed at alarming and disinforming the public.

The Civic Forum Coordination Center thanks all those who, in connection with the alarming reports, expressed their determination to defend the irreversibility of our path toward decency and truth, and asks them to trust the information of the Civic Forum Coordination Center as well as statements by members of the government—there is no immediate danger of such a risk.

New Political Party Rejects Election Law Accord

LD2001223790 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] The newly created political party, Independent Left, rejects the agreement concerning the new election law adopted on 11 January at the round table meeting by representatives of the existing political parties, Civic Forum and Public Against Violence.

It is of the opinion that the principles adopted at the round table discriminate against newly created political forces. For this reason it proposes that the representation in legislative bodies should not be limited by the number of votes received, but simply in the natural way, that is, that some parties will not have enough votes in an election for a single mandate.

Havel Addresses Federal Assembly 23 Jan

LD2301154490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Speech by President Vaclav Havel to the Federal Assembly in Prague—live]

[Text] Mr Speaker, Mr and Mrs Deputy, all esteemed present here. In my offices at Prague Castle I cannot find a single clock. I find it symbolic. For many years there was no reason to look at a clock. Time was at a standstill because history had come to a halt, not only at Prague Castle, but in our entire country. Now that we have finally freed ourselves from the strait jacket of a totalitarian system time, nevertheless, rushes ahead as though it were trying to catch up for the past. All of us, you and I, are trying to keep abreast, and are repeatedly taken aback by the number of tasks given to us by a society which is fast awakening, and by the speed with which we have to fulfill them under the inexorable pressure of life. We are surprised, although we should not be. The force of this waterfall is only relative to the size of a lake, the dikes of which have suddenly broken, and the length of the time during which this lake accumulated in a deadened society. This quite special and new situation makes me now speak to you, already for longer than what used to be customary and longer than I would like to speak, not quite a month after you elected me to office. You can certainly believe me when I say that I am not guided by a vain endeavor to interfere with your deliberations or influence it in a manner which oversteps my constitutional rights, and even less by the need to hold you back now when you are so busy. On the contrary, I am quided only by the duty to act in harmony with the awakened will of the public, which has put me in office through you, and by the effort to help you too.

Allow me first a few words about what I and my colleagues have done so far, what I am doing now, and what I intend to do.

Above all, I am trying to get to know the real state of our republic and the real problems of its citizens. I visited Bratislava and, shortly before my election, Kosice, the Ostrava Region, and Brno. I tried everywhere, in spite of the brevity of my visits, to learn as much as I could and to contribute to rectification as much as possible where it was in my power. Whenever I needed help in this from the new federal government, the composition of which I took part in some time ago—still as a rank-and-file citizen along with other friends from the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence—I have met with immediate understanding and support.

To become a good president of all Czechoslovakia I naturally had to start in my own office. On my proposal, the government put forward to you a bill for a law, the aim of which is to return to the Office of the President and its center the authority it enjoined in the world in the past. From the Office (?No 5) of the Federal Ministry of Interior, units are to be chosen which will look after Prague Castle, the protection of the president, and which will be subordinated, through his military office, directly to him.

The First Battalion of the Castle Guard is similarly to be transfered from the Ministry of Interior troops and subordinated in the same way to the president. This is not my personal whim. I have long been accustomed to the enduring care my person received from the Ministry of Interior. My concern is different. It does not seem appropriate that the head of this state should be supervised, as indirectly and discreetly this may be done, by various services of a single ministry. From the planned change I also hope that one of the most important compounds of Prague Castle, that is, the former Institute for Noble Ladies adjacent to Vladislav Hall, will be at least partially released for the use of the Department for Monuments of the Office of the President. Its task will be to make Prague Castle, as soon as possible, once again the cultural prize of our country. Until now the premises have been overcrowded, undignified, and dingy.

With regard to the Castle Guard, I can make you happy with the news that in their new uniforms they will become a real ornament of the traditional seat of the head of our state.

The new times also inevitably require personnel and structural changes in the Office of the President of the Republic itself. A new man is now heading it and new people have also been recruited to some posts which are closest to the president. These people have proven themselves with distinction both morally and professionally, not only during the days of our peaceful revolution, but also in the years preceding it. I have four personal advisers, a collegium, and technical advisers. I am setting up a body of consultants and establishing various new commissions staffed by external advisers. Their task will be to contribute to enhacing our statehood, restoring its best traditions, and politically strengthening the Office of the President, which until recently was a mere branch of the presidium of one political party.

We want to soon inform the broad public in detail about the new internal composition, mission, and budget of the Office of the President. The time when no one, including the president himself, looked into these matters has passed irreversibly. We shall also inform the public about the concept of the future use and improvement of the chateau at Lany [presidential summer residence]. Its function was, to be quite frank, rather murky, and its internal design, distinctive by the large number of incredibly tasteless bathrooms and [word indistinct] furnished apartments, is a mockery of Masaryk's tradition, which is linked with it. The park will once again be made accessible to the public; the chapel will again serve its purpose; and the time has come to put an end to the cruel parodies of hunting and pompous receptions, hermetically cut off by repellant walls and a nonsensical number of guards, from citizens who have been paying for all this through taxes.

The investment that the strengthening of the presidential office will require within the framework of the separation of state power from the power of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], including placing the office in terms of salaries at least at federal ministry level, as well as the investment required to transform the seat of the president once again into an attractive European cultural and intellectual center, will be, of course, considerable, especially if the ongoing reconstruction of the Castle is sped up.

If we do not succeed in squeezing the necessary funds into the current budget of the Office of the President by making savings everywhere possible, and if we ask you to increase the subsidy, then I guarantee you it will not be money wasted. It will also be a microscopic amount in comparison with the tens of billions, which up until recently our state spent on the leadership, apparatusses, and new local seats of the, then, ruling party, which showed ingratitude to our people for the tolerance which they had been bearing toward it.

I know that we are entering an era of market mechanisms and genuine economic relations. I believe, however, that it would be an insult to the office of the head of this state if economic self-sufficiency was demanded of it. The Office of the President of the Republic is not a Slusovice agro-combine. Perhaps you will be surprised to learn that it is one of the few offices which has been resisting the general trend of all offices to expand. It has today a substantially smaller number of employees than it had under Masaryk. This graphically demonstrates how the importance of the president has declined in our country. In any case, it is not a coincidence that in the case of my predecessor, his state office title was placed in principal behind his party office title.

I hope you believe that I am not preparing these changes in order to enhance my personal power and glory, but only in order to give back to the Office of the President of this republic the significance it had in the past, and thereby to also enable my successors to better serve their homeland.

Should it appear to you that I am nonetheless, far too hasty in these matters, then I ask you to realize that these are tasks which are urgent because of their very essence and the fact that I do not have unlimited time. I would like to hand over my office to my successors in a condition for which I will not have to be ashamed.

As you have certainly noticed, I have also given myself the task—along with the government of national accord and in the spirit of the powerful social movement, which has brought us to our present offices—of attempting to contribute to the strengthening of the prestige of Czechoslovakia in the world. A few things have already happened in this field. When we visited the two German states, we did not just visit our powerful German neighbor with which we have a long common border and with which we have been linked so closely historically. We have visited as well a nation which has courageously begun to tear down the wall which divides Europe so tragically, and a nation on whose future the destiny of the whole of Europe, and that is all of us, depends so much. The fact is, that peace in Europe is unthinkable without peace in its geographical heart. This is why our first steps led exactly there.

In the coming days we will visit Poland and Hungary, and later Romania, whose road to democracy is also our road and with whom we want to coordinate as well as possible our return to Europe.

Shortly afterward I will visit, along with my colleagues, the Soviet Union. We attach great importance to this visit. We will be well prepared for it and I personally will be very glad to submit to Mr Gorbachev various important and mutually interlinked proposals, including an offer that his future meeting with Mr Bush take place in Prague. I will naturally submit the same proposal, shortly afterward, to Mr Bush during my grand state visit to the United States of America.

Talks on the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Vatican and Israel are also proceeding well. A decision concerning the Pope's visit to Czechoslovakia soon has already been made. Negotiations are also taking place concerning several more of our foreign trips, including a trip to Holland and Scandinavia in May. Perhaps you would be interested to hear that I would like to ask Sweden, a state from which we can learn so much in the sphere of genuine social welfare, for the return of at least a small portion of the artistic collections which Swedish troops took during the Thirty Years War.

When we want to contribute by various independent and bold initiatives to ensuring that life is better in Europe and the whole world, we are not doing so because of some kind of megalomaniacal endeavor of a small state to draw the world's attention to itself at all costs. We are merely repaying our debt. We all are responsible for the state of the world and our country which, sadly, was for such a long time so insignificant, has neglected for a long time this joint responsibility and has therefore a great deal of catching up to do.

So much about my existing efforts in the office to which you have elected me. It remains to outline what I see as the main purpose of my short-term stay in that office.

In the internal political sphere I see my key task in the effort to introduce in the pre-election campaign—in which there will probably be a range of various political passions and grudges—a certain calm and spiritual dimension, as well as human aspects and motives through which I would like to remind both myself and all of us again and again, that we are not waging a struggle for seats, positions and power but for a better face for our homeland.

In the foreign policy field I would like to work in a similar spirit. I would like to stress that politics does not have to be a mere stage for competing interests but that it can also be a matter of selfless work for universal benefit. In this field, too, within the framework of my restricted possibilities I would like to continue to offer a reminder of something that is spiritual, suprapersonal or, if you like, a nonpolitical horizon for politics.

I would now like to confine myself briefly to my views on the tasks ahead of you, the Federal Assembly deputies. We are all looking forward to the new Czechoslovak Constitution and the Constitutions of both our national republics, which the national and federal representative bodies, that will emerge from free elections, will adopt one day. The rapid movement of history, about which I was speaking at the beginning, convinces us again and again how imprudent it would be if we waited for all changes until the new Constitution is approved. We would thus, in fact, be postponing quite unnecessarily the solution of problems. If we do not want to unnecessarily deepen the crisis into which we have been pitched, we must tackle these problems immediately. This is why we shall—apart from many various laws, which you are preparing with a speed that commands respect— apparently have to pass other constitutional laws. For instance, the real economic reform, which must be started straight away if the situation is not to go bad, will probably require certain constitutional changes in the definition of ownership relations and the structure of economic ministries.

For your consideration I am once again submitting what has already been discussed at the roundtable when the Government of National Accord was being born, whether a Federal Ministry for the Environment and a Committee for Ethnic Minorities should not be established.

Perhaps it will be necessary to make even more profound changes in the present Constitution and also to change somewhat the very structure of the representative corps, so that the elections would not mummify their present unsuitable shape for the whole coming election period. The point is that up until now the structure of the republican and federal representative corps has been an inflexible, noneconomic and over-bureaucratized expression of the old centralism, for which the idea of federation represented merely an administratively more complicated way of totalitarian rule. But what we want is a true federation, a federation which represents a demonstration of will, aimed at a joint and truly democratic state coexistence of two independent peoples.

As far as the election law itself is concerned, I am once again putting in my word, asking you to use this law to open up the path toward participation in the administration of public affairs by those who are truly the best of us, both in a moral and a professional sense. This means that you should place more emphasis on specific persons rather than on political parties.

Parties, clubs, movements and intitiatives represent a natural display of plurality of views and a natural need for association. Political personalities should be politically formed and profiled, but in the end it should be their human qualities and professional competence that should play a decisive role, or, they should play at least a more important role than their political affiliation or their loyalty to a political group. Noble-minded people, no matter how different their views, are always capable of a dialogue, of mutual understanding and tolerance, while people of a less noble mind are, on the contrary, able to conceive a deadly hate for each other for petty reasons.

Great space should be opened up for absolutely independent candidates. I have stated this many times already and I reiterate this intentionally once again: Let's not allow ourselves to become a warning example for those who do not know what to do with their freedom. On the contrary, let us try to ensure that our liberal-mindedness yields a new quality for our democracy, a quality which will be an inspiration for our people.

Dear deputies, as the president of the republic. I have the right to submit legislative initiatives in the Federal Assembly. I have used this right today and I have already handed your chairman some important drafts. At issue are the drafts for mutually interconnected changes, which must be implemented concurrently so that quite unnecessary economic losses will be prevented.

These are changes which are in the air, which are being discussed everywhere, are expected by all, and which the public—who I feel a responsibility to above all—calls for. These are changes toward which development is evidently directed, and which the new Constitution, no matter what it is like, will surely include. Many reasons—including economic reasons—are much more advantageously implemented immediately. You, no doubt, can guess what I am talking about. I am talking about changes which some of our neighbors have successfully implemented already—for the very reasons for which we too must implement them. These, after all, are only the natural consequences of what has happened in our country too, when Article 4 of the Constitution was abolished. I am talking about the name of our republic, about our state emblems and the name of our Army.

We all want a republic which is socially just, in which no one suffers existential uncertainty, in which handicapped, elderly people, and chldren will not suffer. We want a republic which will carefully ensure that all degrading barriers between various social strata disappear, a republic in which we shall not be divided into servants and masters. I want such a republic more than some others, and maybe this fact gives me the right to put my proposal forward. Let us finally admit to ourselves, without excuses, that the word socialism has lost its meaning in our lanaguage.

No one can really say anymore what it means, what is understood by it under our present condition, nor where socialism starts and where it ends. Not only this, after all the bitter experiences with all those who called their vain omnipotence and their belittling of others socialism, and themselves passed for its only guardians, this word even evokes general disgust. It is their fault that the term for the great ideals of the workers' movement has been turned into a term for a totalitarian system. The moral, political and economic crisis in our country is linguistically inseparably linked with this word. A political ideal has become a magic formula and the magic formula has become a synomym for all that is bad. More than about a socialist happiness, people today speak about a socialist horror.

And this is still not the main thing. Even compromised words can have the original meaning returned to them, and I do not doubt that the various left-wing parties which are being renewed or newly set up, sooner or later will be able to return the meaning to the word socialism. The main thing is that the ideological character for a given moment of the social and economic arrangement of a state, simply has no place in states' names. If our state was called for example the Czechoslovak capitalist republic, or the Czechoslovak democratic republic, or the Czechoslovak christian social republic, I would speak against such names equally vehemently.

The ideology of a group with whatever views—be it a majority or a minority group—has no place in the name of a state which wants to be truly democratic, because by this [putting the ideology in the state's name], automatically one group of citizens is thus at an advantage over other groups. In fact this is always a kind of a code for some sort of a notorious leading role.

A democratic state simply has no right to interpret or comment on its own existence in the spirit of any kind of political doctrine. Our republic has been called—for some unclear and never specifically enunciated reasons—a socialist republic by my predecessor, Mr President Novotny. I do not know whether he did that because he indeed believed, in the spirit of Marxist teaching, that in our country everyone was rewarded according to his work, or because it was in his time fashionable, so to speak, because the Soviet leadership of that time did require such additions to the name. No matter what his reasons, it seems to be obvious to me that our republic should not be called this. The future will show whether we shall be a republic humane, democratic, peaceloving, and prosperous or not. But by including in the state's name this or that adjective, we should not be guaranteeing that we shall be a better state than the one that we are. This is why I have submitted to your chairman a draft constitutional law according to which our national republics should be called—the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic, and our state the Czechoslovak Republic.

Even more vividly discussed in our society today than the topic of the name of our state is the topic of our state emblem. The present Czechoslovak state emblem—as all experts agree—is a heraldic nonsense.

The shield is replaced by a pavis despite the fact that there have never been any emblems on pavises. A pavis, furthermore, is nothing specifically Hussite in character—as the authors of the present emblems possibly believed—because all troops in the Middle Ages, including Crusaders, used them. The five-pointed star—this symbol of the communist movement floating above the head of the Czech lion deprived of his royal crown—is only a projection of the abolished Article 4 of the Constitution onto the state emblem. The combination of this star with the Czech lion is a parody of our historical national emblem and, after all, also the communist symbol. On the present state emblem, furthermore, the Slovak emblem on the lion's breast has been replaced by some kind of invented little flames—without any heraldic importance—so that it is nothing other than a little frame inside the lion. Today's state emblem—also constructed in the strange year 1960—is not only not loved by the broad public, but is hated by them. A majority of people—and they do not need any kind of heraldic education for this—know that this emblem is artificial and ugly, and they quite logically link it with the sad regime of those who designed it. There is general agreement that this emblem must be changed.

There have been extensive discussions among both experts and laymen about what emblem to replace it with. A return to the emblem from 1920—no matter what it is from the heraldic point of view—is unthinkable, because for all of us it is linked historically, inseparably, with the idea of one Czechoslovak nation. The only possibility therefore is to choose a new emblem. Such a choice is no doubt a very difficult intervention into both the national and state awareness—but I personally support this alternative. And not only because this is possibly the only solution, but above all because for various reasons I consider this time to be the beginning of a new historic era—so that it deserves even such a radical expression as the selection of a new state emblem.

Having acquainted myself with various heraldic and historic expert opinions—both Czech and Slovak—and after lengthy thoughts about today's historic, political and national feelings in both our nations, I have decided to propose a solution to you which in fact offers itself. I have, naturally, submitted this solution to experts on heraldics and legislation and have not met with any objections from them. Thus I dare to submit it to you: This is a very simple solution. The Czech republic—if it is so called with your decision—would use as its emblem the traditional Czech two-tail lion with a crown. All institutions—be it legislative, executive or judicial—which come under the Czech Republic would use this emblem, in such a way as the law sets down, or as it proceeds from certain practices. And in the same way, all institutions of the Slovak Republic would use the traditional Slovak emblem—three hills with a double cross (Orthodox church cross) erected on the middle one. These emblems of national republics would correspond to the so-called small emblem—thus there would be no problem with their being turned into minitures for writing paper, rubber stamps, seals and so on.

The so-called big emblem would then be the emblem of the Czechoslovak Republic and would be used only by federal institutions, including the Czechoslovak Army. This emblem would also represent the Czechoslovak republic abroad. All this seems to indicate that this solution is technically realistic. Concerning the emblem itself—there is greatest support from both our nations and among experts for an emblem divided in quarters, which has a long tradition in heraldics and expresses an equal and friendly union of two different families or nations. It has been used since the time of the Jagiello kings [around 14th century], who combined the Czech emblem with the Hungarian emblem.

This emblem will be a big one, not only because it would be quartered into four fields in which both national emblems would be appear twice and alternately, but also because it would be divided to a front and back shield, which means that in the middle of the big quartered emblem there would be another emblem, much smaller but placed in the very center—that is the historical emblem of Moravia. Its placing would symbolically express the fact that the first state known in the history of our nations is the Great Moravian Realm, in which our two nations—better put as the ethnic groups from which our two nations have developed—were joined in one state at the dawn of our history. The Moravian spread Eagle in the center of the emblem of our Federation would then symbolize the motif linking our two nations, that is precisely the motif which is a historical antecedent of our modern federation.

The big emblem of the Federation would naturally appear also on the banners of the president of the repubic and the slogan "The Truth Wing" would be underneath.

I am convinced that the design I am putting foward has all the advantages. Inndependent emblems for both national republics and all its national institutions would reinforce the awareness of national individuality of both our nations—of the Slovak nation, which has a traditionally strong relation to its national emblem; and even more of the Czech nation which has experienced its national republic only to a small extent so far as a meaningful expression of its individuality. It is still too much connected with the Czechoslovak, currently federal, configurations and also—among other things—because the metropolis of our republic is Prague. The proposed design would reinforce Moravian awareness, which has been unjustly overlooked.

Naturally I cannot explain here all aspects and reasons for this design because it would be enough to fill a book. I can only assure you that this design enjoys the consent of various experts and is in harmony—I am convinced—with the wishes of our nations.

I have also given the bill on the constitutional law on our state emblems to your speaker. With your permission I will now show you the design of all three emblems and the banner of the president of the republic, which is enclosed.

[(Announcer) says: "The deputies of the Federal Assembly are now looking at the designs of the emblems."]

The change in the name of the State should be connected with the change in the name of the Army. Our Army is the people in its very essence, because in our country there is general military service and therefore nobody but the people can form the Army. The current name is a pleonasm. I therefore recommend that you change the name "Czechoslovak People's Army" into "Czechoslovak Army," in the article of the Amendment of the Defense Law, respectively in the Law on the New Text of Service Oath of Soldiers and members of the National Security Corps and Public Security Corps, which are being worked on.

Esteemed deputies. You are undoubtedly aware that changing the State Emblem will be a process which will take months and will cost many millions of KCS. If you adopt the proposals which I am putting forward to you then all together—the National Councils and Governments, Federal Assembly and the Federal Government and I as president—we can ask everyone who will contribute to changing the State Emblem, to devote unpaid shifts and voluntary work to it. I am convinced, in today's atmosphere of awakened national self-confidence and joy over our civic self-liberation, that our appeal will be favorably received and will meet with general understanding. I see it as a matter of great and almost symbolic importance, that in this election, the first of its kind in many decades, we could put our ballot cards into ballot boxes with new state emblems which would differentiate, among other things, the ballot boxes for the election into national and into federal representative bodies, and that the ballot rooms could be decorated with them too.

The State Emblem is very often connected in various ways—from the frontal walls of the parliament to writing paper and rubber stamps—with the name of the State. Therefore I think that it is correct to carry out both changes at the same time. Otherwise the expenses connected with them could double.

Similar reasons make me suggest to you the change in the name of our Army at the same time.

Dear deputies. We all certainly agree that we want to live in a legal state. What does it mean? What is a legal state? It is a state in which laws apply not only to all citizens but also to all state bodies, and all other organizations, and social subjects. The top of the legal order is the Constitution, which is in harmony with the general declaration of Human Rights and all international obligations, agreements and pacts linked with it. But not only this. The best laws and the best Constitution on their own still do not guarantee a legal state. Its best guarantee is in the democratic conditions in which the law is implemented, that is, in the democratic awareness of us all. Our civic culture, our political wisdom, our feeling for justice, our lack of prejudices and the responsibility of each of us, based on our conscience and deliberations—only this and many other good things can be a real guarantee of what we aim at: A legal state and democracy. We are not accustomed to either, and for many of us it will be difficult to discover and nurture in oneself the things I have been speaking about. All the more so because we live in the exciting time of parting with a totalitarian power, in a time which demands many firm and speedy steps. How do we put together the desire for lawfulness and democratic proceedings, with the need to settle accounts radically with the past and all its dark consequences? How do we confront the intriguing followers of the old order, and at the same time not make intrigues, like them, and not trouble them with the way that they troubled us? How do we prevent careerists from changing coats speedily and putting themselves willfully above others, even if with a new flag in their hands? How do we break, in a revolutionary way, the old structures, and avoid in the process all the types of violence from which they were born and on which they stand? These are difficult tasks and you yourselves know this well, as the majority of you gained your deputy seats in the old times and want to serve it—as I firmly believe.

I believe, that you are aware of the quite extraordinary responsibility which you yourselves hold. Few people hope as much as myself, that you will carry out the unusual historical role which was given to you, with honor and for the benefit of our nations.

I will end with the same thing that I began with. Our joint responsibility today is to listen well to the call of the day, to understand the nations of the moment and to be aware of, and respect, the accelerated rhythm of time, which is so characteristic of this period. We will undoubtedly shortly install the clocks which will show us this miraculously accelerated passage of history in our workplaces, I myself in my office at the Castle and you in this, your chamber.

Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Havel Sets Up Statehood Studies Commission

LD0401194390 Prague CTK in English
1750 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 4 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today set up a specialized commission within the framework of the Czechoslovak President's Office entrusted with studies of the Czech and Czechoslovak statehood.

At the same time he charged Karl Kucera, member of the commission, with the task to establish a T.G. Masaryk Institute whose primary task will be to gather the archive's and books' fund of the former T.G. Masaryk Institute and other documents on the work of Masaryk's colleagues and followers.

Havel Establishes Consultancy Council

LD1701203390 Prague CTK in English
1822 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 17 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel has set up a council of consultants attached to his office which consists of prominent personalities living abroad who have close relations to Czechoslovakia. The president appointed Karel Schwarzenberg his chairman.

Havel Grants Interview to MTI

LD2401225690 Budapest MTI in English
2100 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, January 24 (MTI)—Given the new situation in Czechoslovakia and Hungary, new vistas are opening in the relations, with the formal contacts within the Warsaw Treaty being replaced by genuine friendship. The Gabcikovo hydroelectric dam project has reached a stage where the alternative of peak-hour operation will probably be ruled out. Czechoslovakia's ethnic minorities should receive greater rights and a special government body to deal with their problems. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Romania would have to coordinate their ways or returning to European circuit, Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel told in an interview with the Prague correspondents of the Hungarian news agency, "MAGYAR NEMZET", Hungarian radio and "NEPSZABADSAG" on Wednesday, prior to his visit to Hungary.

Vaclav Havel said that to discuss all the current issues of common concern would take him not one day but a whole month to spend in Budapest. He added that these questions would be discussed by the governments and ministers at different levels. This time, accompanied by First Deputy Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky, he would focus his talks on principal questions of cooperation and future relations, as well as the position of Czechoslovakia and Hungary in Europe.

Asked whether he wants to declare null and void the 1945 Kosice government programnme which laid down the collective guiltiness of Germans and Hungarians, Vaclav Havel stressed that although he opposed the principle of collective sin, he was not competent to decide on the Kosice government programme. He said he presumed the relevant Czechoslovak-German or Czechoslovak-Hungarian international historians' or lawyers' committees would work out an appropriate platform "so that this question, which has been taboo for 40 years, become the subject of unbiased judgement and public debate."

Vaclav Havel also said he had not forgotten about the Hungarian opposition which supported the Charter 77, or about what Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kerenyi had done for the Czechoslovak revolution, and indicated his wish to meet opposition figures during his visit to Hungary.

The Czechoslovak head of state mentioned he highly appreciated that his works were published in Hungary and he could appear on Hungarian television at a time when Czechoslovakia's former state leadership sharply protested against this.

Speaking about conditions in Central Europe, Vaclav Havel stated that a new phenomenon emerged in Europe for which the continent was not completely prepared. The countries of the so-called Soviet bloc were not expected to start being liberated and moving closer to democracy so quickly and in unison without the intention of jeopardizing their friendly ties with the Soviet Union.

With regard to his trips to Poland, Hungary and Romania, Vaclav Havel said it was necessary to coordinate the ways and means of reintegration into Europe, and that Western Europe would also have to understand the process and adapt to it. He called for discussing and collating the various Polish, Czechoslovak, Hungarian and, probably, Romanian initiatives in the field, and for finding the most appropriate ways of synchronizing cooperation. Vaclav Havel said he was convinced that the four countries would be able to work together, and their cooperation would be beneficial to all.

Foreign Minister Interviewed by LE MONDE

PM2712122089 Paris LE MONDE in French
27 Dec 89 p 4

[Interview with Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier by Sylvie Kauffmann in Prague—date not given]

[Text] Prague—[Kauffman] As agreed with your Soviet counterpart, Edvard Shevardnadze, in Moscow last week, a Soviet-Czechoslovak committee is to start negotiations 15 January on the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Are you demanding a return to the situation that existed before 1968, when there were no Soviet troops on your territory?

[Dienstbier] I would not want to exert any pressure here on the negotiations, but our position is clear: Since the Warsaw Pact members have denounced the 21 August 1968 invasion of our country, the treaty on the temporary stationing of Soviet forces in Czechoslovakia is null and void, so a new treaty must be negotiated. Will it focus on the withdrawal of all Soviet troops? We must take account of the political, military, economic, and even psychological aspects of this matter.

[Kauffmann] Do these "psychological aspects" concern the Soviet side or the Czechoslovak side?

[Dienstbier] They concern everyone... But I have gained the impression of sincere good will on the Soviet side. The basic problem is that of the stability or destabilization of Central Europe. This means, I believe, that the Americans, for their part, should make a gesture.

[Kauffmann] Before you came to power a Czechoslovak democratic opposition document envisaged the possibility of a total withdrawal of Soviet occupying troops, accompanied by an accord on the presence of 2-3 Soviet military bases on your territory under the the Czechoslovak authorities' supervision. Does this proposal still stand?

[Dienstbier] All proposals are valid and will be examined by this committee. The final objective is the Soviet troops' withdrawal from Czechoslovakia; for that matter, this is what is being said in Moscow, too.

Reunification of Europe

[Kauffmann] Have the Soviets ever displayed any irritation over the events of the past few weeks—for instance, over Vaclav Havel's election as president?

[Dienstbier] I believe that even the Soviets admitted that it was a very disciplined revolution here, and I told Mr Shevardnadze that now, following the condemnation of the Soviet invasion, we can restore the traditionally good relations between our two countries, as was the case in the 19th century.

[Kauffmann] How do you view Czechoslovakia's role within the Warsaw Pact? Will you, like the Hungarians, exert pressure for reforms within this organization?

[Dienstbier] Our aim is the elimination of both blocs to make way for a democratic and pluralistic security structure throughout the Helsinki area. Meanwhile, of course, we must honor all the international accords that have been established. But we want to and can work actively toward this objective. Of course we hope to facilitate changes in the Warsaw Pact's structure, but above all in the structure of international relations as a whole.

What we are going to introduce is a policy of openness; we want to open Czechoslovakia up. This was the significance of our meeting with Mr Alois Mock on the Austrian border and of my meeting Saturday with Mr Genscher on the German border.

[Kauffmann] You mentioned your meeting with Mr Genscher. Does the prospect of Germany's reunification frighten you?

[Dienstbier] No. No nation can be denied the right to self-determination. Whatever the configuration of Germany in 2-3 years' time—whether a confederation, a federation, or a reunified Germany—the main thing that there will be is a huge German economic bloc. But it is essential to avoid reviving old fears or creating new ones. It absolutely must go hand in hand with the reunification of Europe.

[Kauffmann] What are your intentions with regard to the EEC?

[Dienstbier] We went to extend our international contacts, especially with the EEC within the context of Europe's reunification. We hope to join the Council of Europe as a soon as possible, not with observer status but as members. EEC membership... We are well aware that it is impossible for the time being: Even Austria is not accepted in it.

[Kauffmann] Do you believe that Czechoslovakia's future lies, rather, within the regional framework of Central Europe?

[Dienstbier] We must display our desire to participate in Europe through the concrete opening of our borders. This does not mean that we will concentrate solely on Central Europe, but I am sure that in this region we have resources and human assets that grant us great opportunities in various directions. The position of an individual or nation always depends on what he or it can offer others.

[Kauffmann] How far does the future of the Czechoslovak democratic forces depend on that of Mr Gorbachev?

[Dienstbier] I believe that the democratic process in Czechoslovakia is now irreversible, because there are no internal or external forces capable of imposing a turnabout. In 1968 there were no internal forces capable of blocking our efforts, but there was an external force...

"We Are Not Like 'Them'"

It does not seem to me to be directly dependent on the future of Mr Gorbachev personally. Actually I was convinced for years that the Soviet Union had no alternative but a policy of thorough democratic changes. It is not only the country's development that is at stake but the very existence of the Union; even the conservatives realize this. This is the great weakness of Stalinism—to have eliminated every chance of organizing Soviet society. The final Brezhnev years resulted not in stagnation but in a total decomposition of Soviet society. And Gorbachev's arrival was no accident: There were many Gorbachevs before him; it is just that they were shot or sent to Siberia. This time the USSR's survival demanded that a Gorbachev accede to power.

[Kauffmann] For 2 weeks you have been head of a ministry reckoned to be very close to the Communist Party. Are you coming up against resistance to the apparatus?

[Dienstbier] No, I am encountering no difficulties. It is a very special ministry inasmuch as people here cannot only be bureaucrats; they must have certain skills, speak foreign languages so they can take up foreign posts. They are highly qualified personnel, but they were not used for positive ends: Everything had to be approved by the Central Committee's International Affairs Department.

[Kauffmann] Have you dismissed anyone?

[Dienstbier] I did not have to do so because before my arrival my predecessor, Mr Johanes, recalled 30 ambassadors. The officials who did damage in 1968 are mostly retired, or about to retire... Let us forget about them. We are not like "them." I even reached an agreement with the various political parties whereby I will not commit any massacres. If someone is qualified and does not openly represent the former regime, if he has not destroyed anyone, well, let him work according to his abilities!

[Kauffmann] Have you already appointed any ambassadors?

[Dienstbier] Yes, four: Mrs Rita Klimova (an opposition economist very active within Civic Forum, Klimova was brought up partly in the United States—LE MONDE editor's note) to Washington; Mr Karel Duda to London—he was a young ambassador to Washington in 1969 before being recalled and expelled from the Party and the Ministry; and two ambassadors with specific tasks—Mr Cestimir Cisar (a former Communist Party leader during the "Prague Spring," Cisar withdrew his presidential candidacy last week in favor of Vaclav Havel—LE MONDE editor's note), who will be in charge of cultural relations with France, and former foreign minister during the "Prague Spring" Jiri Hajek.

[Kauffmann] Your "gentle revolution" is now almost 5 weeks old. Did you ever consider that it might fail?

[Dienstbier] When I saw that it was spreading to Brno and Bratislava I knew that it would not fail, because in this country everyone has known for at least the past 20 years that society could not work without democratic changes. After 1948 we experienced a great enthusiasm for the communists, then people discovered that things were not working. Then came the "Prague Spring," but it was crushed. After 1968 even the Politburo members knew that it could not work, but they were content to owe their position to Brezhnev, in the belief that the situation in the USSR would not change in their lifetime... Those men were betrayed by history. The same applies to society. People disappeared inside their private lives because they believed that they would have to endure these conditions as long as they lived.

I have always believed that even Husak's team would have preferred a different policy, but knew that if they took the first step the situation would become impossible to control and they would lose power—which is exactly what happened.

[Kauffmann] What has impressed you most in the upheavals of recent weeks?

[Dienstbier] As far as I am concerned, the political maturity displayed by our nations has been absolutely incredible. The first demonstrations were not led; there were no microphones nor loudspeakers. In Brno all of a sudden there were 50,000 thousand people in the streets, but they were all patient. This is a great source of hope... These people who started the revolution following the brutal repression of 17 November did not smash a single window pane or attack a single police station!

Then there was the way the agreement was reached on forming the government: People belonging to the structures of the regime, such as Calfa, for instance, considered the agreement reached with the opposition a result of their own endeavors. And I must say that from this viewpoint the government represents much more than a compromise reached faute de mieux: The accord was reached voluntarily by the two sides so that it would work. The experiment is still young, but when you talk with those people, though they are so different from us, you sense a genuine desire to cooperate, a realization that our job is to lead the country to free elections.

[Kauffmann] What do you feel about being there after the years spent in prison and in subway boiler rooms?

[Dienstbier] Well, you know... I simply do not have the time for impressions. But I have kept the congratulations telegram that I received from my "instructor," my head guard at Bory jail in Pilsen, when I was appointed minister!

RZECZPOSPOLITA Interviews Dienstbier

LD0501200490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] For the second day running, the Polish newspaper RZECZPOSPOLITA has carried an interview with a Czechoslovak government minister. After yesterday's interview with Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus—who referred to the possibility of disbanding CEMA—the paper was today granted an interview by Foreign Minister Jiri Diebstbier.

The Czechoslovak foreign minister stated that preparations are underway to establish an international commission comprising representatives of Czechoslovakia, the FRG, Austria, and probably also the GDR. The commission will consist of historians and lawyers who will try to obtain and analyze as many authentic documents as possible. It will then make results of its work and ensuing recommendations known to the governments of the different parties.

According to Jiri Dienstbier, there can be no discussion of the return of Sudeten Germans' former property, nor of a return to the borders as they stood in 1937, nor even of any compensation to German citizens for their resettlement. If we wanted to count up the damage we caused to one another from 1938, Jiri Dienstbier said in the interview, we would have to take into account the fact that everything we have experienced in the past 50 years was also caused by the fact that Hitler and German fascism overturned order in Europe and brought on the outbreak of war, and also that many of the Sudeten Germans supported them.

The government newspaper RZECZPOSPOLITA also reports that the Czechoslovak foreign minister is to visit Warsaw next week, on 9th and 10th January.

Spokesman Briefing on Foreign Policy

LD2601105890 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2130 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Lubomir Dobrovsky, press spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, today in Bratislava briefed domestic and foreign journalists on the principles of Czechoslovak foreign policy.

He stressed that the fundamental principle of our foreign policy is a common effort to return to Europe in the fields of policy, culture, and economy, where Czechoslovakia undoubtedly belongs.

Among the first results of specific cooperation will be the opening of the Italian consulate in Bratislava. The capital of Slovakia will also participate with Vienna and Budapest in the World fair.

Foreign Ministry Confirms End to Arms Exports

LD2601212390 Prague CTK in English 1833 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 26 (CTK)— Thw ways and terms of the cessation of sales of Czechoslovak arms abroad will be checked in connection with international agreements signed by Czechoslovakia as well as with respect to the gradual transition of the arms production to civilian production. A Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry spokesman has told CTK.

The cessation of arms supplies will not concern hunting and sporting arms, he added.

The spokesman referred to statements of Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier which were published by THE NEW YORK TIMES yesterday.

Vacek on Army Reductions, Counterintelligence

LD2601112990 Prague CTK in English 1010 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 26 (CTK)—"It can be expected that an agreement which will help reduce troops of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO will be achieved already this year. For the Czechoslovak Army it would mean a reduction by about 60,000 soldiers, 3,000 tanks, and almost 3,000 combat vehicles of infantry, armoured vehicles and other equipment", Czechoslovak Defence Minister Miroslav Vacej said in today's RUDE PRAVO.

Asked about the shortening of the military service he answered that nowadays it is realistic to shorten it from 24 to 18 months and in case of university graduates who attended military departments to nine months. He said that, in his opinion, professionalization of the Army is less realistic since expenses for professional armies are four to six times higher.

Commenting on military training facilities he said that there are 14 in the country covering an area of 2,400 square kilometres, i.e. 2.6 percent of the total territory and that only about one third serves for training the Army. It is under consideration that some of the facilities will be gradually handed over to civilians, the minister pointed out.

He added that the Czechoslovak Army has already offered 65 T-54 and T-55 tanks for sale and that 11 of them have been sold so far.

Despite all positive steps in the world the Armed Forces of Czechoslovakia as well as of other countries will be in the centre of the interest of foreign intelligence services. Therefore, military counterintelligence must exist, the minister stressed and added that he can give a guarantee that the counterintelligence will serve only this purpose because by a resolution of the Czechoslovak Government Presidium of January 4 the abnormality of dual subordination of the military counterintelligence to the Interior and Defence Ministries ceased to exist. The dual subordination could have led to a misuse, the defence minister concluded.

Defense Minister on 'Apolitical' Army

LD2601213490 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Journalists met today with Defense Minister General Colonel Miroslav Vacek, in the Military High School of Pedagogy, Bratislava. Answering a question about topical tasks of the Army, the minister said:

[Begin Vacek recording] The measures ensuing from the government's resolution, which were implemented in favor of current national service conscripts, represent in 1990 a discharge of approximately 90,000 soldiers. Some of these would have been discharged anyway, but now the discharge is being carried out on shorter deadlines. We would like to continue to develop those ideas which I several times repeated at previous press conferences. The essence of these ideas is that we want to build the Czechoslovak Army as a supraparty Army, where there will be no space for the activities of any political parties, any political streams. And essentially—with the exception of the Employees Trade Union of the Czechoslovak People's Army, to which civic employees of the Czechoslovak People's Army are affiliated—no organization should be active in the Army.

This conception is slightly different from the one held by some of our citizens, as this means building the Army as an apolitical Army. This ensues from the mission itself, and take into account such fundamental ideas that every soldier—either a professional soldier or a conscript—should know why he is doing his Army service, why he has to do his national service, and for what he should fight. This issue alone forms, I think, a rather wide group of political questions.

The conception is, of course, different; it is closer to the conception of patriotic education, and is also closely linked to the existence of this school. One of the first decrees signed by the president was a decree on the establishment of this school as a military high school of pedagogy. We do not want just to pretend. We really wish to adapt a profile of this school's graduates to the needs of patriotic education, sociology, political sciences and other scientific subjects in such a way that it will serve the education of our soldiers. [end recording]

Military Justice Staff Supports Democratic Reform

LD1801202190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the Federal Assembly, received in Prague the representatives of military justice. They acquainted him with the statement in which the staff of military justice affirm their unconditional support for all democratic changes in our country and say at the same time that they want to take part in making Czechoslovakia a really legal democratic state. They put forward some initiative to the Federal Assembly on the creation of an independent judiciary and on the work of military judges.

Calfa Interviewed by Trade Union Paper

LD2112223689 Prague CTK in English 0843 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 21 (CTK)—"I do not overestimate myself and I know that at the beginning I was accepted by the other side mainly due to my being an unknown and inexpressive man," Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa said in an interview carried by today's trade union daily PRACE.

The premier highly praised Vaclav Havel's approach to talks between state bodies and civic initiatives. Speaking about his predecessor Ladislav Adamec he said that "in the atmosphere of the first days following November 17, Premier Adamec was a representative of certain stability. However, he was unable to get over his conception of power, unable as a party functionary... Yes, I believe that it was that yoke of forty years which was the greatest dilemma of Premier Adamec," Marian Calfa said.

As concerns Czechoslovakia's future development, Marian Calfa laid stress chiefly on mutual tolerance among people, their character and technical qualification for their functions.

Calfa Receives Free CSSR Council Delegation

LD1101214190 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Premier Marian Calfa received today in Prague a delegation of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia, led by its chairman, Mojmir Povolny. He briefed his guests in detail on the aims of the activities of the Government of National Accord, and concentrated on the issues of the legislative program and development of a democratic political system in Czechoslovakia.

The Council of Free Czechoslovakia delegation expressed its liking of the current social process in our country, and also its support for proposed specific steps regarding future cooperation. It paid special attention to possibilities of students' exchange, offers of scholarships, as well as the organization of fellowships and scholarships in a number of study subjects.

Klaus, Barcak on Currency Changes

AU1601101790 Prague PRACE in Czech 5 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Minister of Finance Vaclav Klaus and Foreign Trade Minister Andrej Barcak by Jaroslav Hejkal in Prague on 4 January: "How Many Korunas to the Dollar?"]

[Text] [Hejkal] What are the changes in exchange rates, about which the government decided?

V. Klaus: The Czechoslovak koruna is being devalued against Western convertible currencies. In relation to the currencies of Eastern countries, that is, in relation to nonconvertible currencies, on the other hand, our koruna is being revalued to a certain degree. The changes apply not only to both currency areas but also to both types of payments, commercial payments, which concern the enterprise sphere, and noncommercial payments, which concern the population. In the commercial sphere, Czechoslovak koruna is being devalued by 18.6 percent against freely convertible currencies, compared with the average rate of exchange last year. This means that the exchange rate will be Kcs17 per one U.S. dollar. In relation to nonconvertible currencies, on the other hand, a revaluation of 10 percent takes place, which means that the starting rate of exchange will be Kcs9 per 1 transferable ruble. This rate of exchange will be used for all purposes, that is, also for noncommercial payments, including the purchase of foreign exchange from nonresident aliens within the framework of the mandatory minimum exchange. Aside from this, a so-called tourist exchange rate has been fixed, which will be used within the framework of active tourist traffic over and above the minimum amount that has to be exchanged and when selling foreign exchange to Czechoslovak tourists traveling abroad. The tourist exchange rate is based on the market rates on foreign exchange markets. The starting mean rate of exchange on 8 January will be Kcs38 per one U.S. dollar. The selling price will be 10 percent higher and the buying price 10 percent lower.

[Hejkal] Will purchases of foreign exchange by Czechoslovak tourists be limited in some way?

V. Klaus: The government has abolished foreign exchange allocations because it regards them as very undemocratic and unjust. This system will no longer exist. Moreover, in the near future we want to resolve technical questions concerning the access by the Czechoslovak public to foreign exchange auctions, which will allow everyone to purchase an unlimited amount of foreign exchange at the rate of exchange which will be fixed on the foreign exchange market. In principle, we have chosen a variant which we regard as extreme and almost too radical: Every citizen will be entitled to purchase in the course of 1 year foreign exchange worth Kcs2,000 at the current rate of exchange, which will be flexible and changing (it can rise or fall).

[Hejkal] Does this apply also to those citizens who exchanged korunas for Austrian shillings last December?

V. Klaus: We have adopted a decision which will not be cheap for us—not to put at a disadvantage those active Czechoslovak citizens who exchanged korunas for foreign exchange funds last December. I think that the public will respond positively to this decision, although banks and people at the Ministry of Finance will be less grateful. We did not want to discriminate against those citizens who, acting in good faith, purchased a few dollars in December; we did not want them to be tied up this year. This is the maximum that we can offer our citizens for this year.

[Hejkal] Will these measures have some impact on illegal money changing?

V. Klaus: Our aim is to move all exchange of money away from those who are not legally authorized to carry it out—both in Czechoslovakia and in foreign banks.

[Hejkal] Will the aforementioned measures not make purchases of goods and the use of services in Czechoslovakia too cheap for foreign visitors?

A. Barcak: In a way, they will. Basically, however, the majority of these visitors has had these opportunities in Czechoslovakia even before. Concurrently with these measures, we therefore intend to introduce other measures, measures that would to a certain degree limit passive tourist traffic in the sense that we will continue to protect the domestic internal market against excessive exports of goods by tourists from Czechoslovakia. This means that the measures adopted several months ago continue to be valid. Moreover, we will fully demand that foreign nationals traveling to and from the CSSR fill in foreign exchange and customs declarations and will apply all existing regulations, including restrictions on the export and import of our korunas. Furthermore, we will demand that foreigners pay for hotel services—starting with 3-star hotels—exclusively in foreign currency. In other words, on the one hand we are trying to make tourist traffic relatively attractive, but on the other we seek sufficient revenues in foreign exchange to be able to expand Czechoslovak citizens' foreign travel.

[Hejkal] What will happen to Tuzex vouchers [equivalent of foreign currency, permitting shopping in a special network of shops selling imported and high-quality goods] under the conditions of the new exchange rates?

A. Barcak: The present value of Tuzex vouchers remains unchanged. People selling freely convertible currencies will receive the same amount in Tuzex vouchers as before.

Finance Minister on Currency Commission Session

LD1901222790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] The 50th session of the CEMA standing currency and finance commission ended last night in Prague. This commission will pay a key role in the comprehensive restructuring of international cooperation as—and this was also said at the CEMA session in Sofia—the current currency-finance relations are a brake in the development of our mutual trade.

Barbara Doleckova interviewed Federal Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus yesterday about the results of a 3-day session of the commission:

[Begin recording] [Doleckova] Mr Minister, the main result of the session of CEMA's standing currency and finance commission was the realization that there is a need to define main tasks to be fulfilled by the end of this April. One of them is working out the main principles of accounting and payment in hard currency, including the definition of accounting and payment in hard currency, including the definition of the period of changing over to this way of accounting. How does Czechoslovakia imagine this period'?

[Klaus] I think that one-half of the problem is proper deadlines. The second issue is to clarify the logic behind this change. I would like to say that in this session an enormous step forward has been made. It seems that when experts meet it is possible to arrive at successful agreements much better than when the talks are conducted on a more general political level. At the previous talks on a more general level everything was narrowed down falsely to the issue of stages and I think that we failed to understand each other in two main things: First, the original Soviet proposals envisioned the payment in freely convertible currencies only with regard to oil and natural gas. The first thing that has to be explained is—and everyone in the commission agreed—that when we are changing for freely convertible currencies we cannot do it only in two commodities. It is clear that this change must be carried out with regard to all commodities because then everything looks quite different in mutual relations.

[Doleckova] You said that you agreed that accounting in freely convertible currencies would concern all export and import items. The important thing however is, from what date?

[Klaus] We have emphasized—and originally we failed to be understood—that to change to normal conditions of world trade means to change the subjects of international trade. Everybody understands that a subject of world trade is not a ministry of planning or a ministry of foreign trade but whoever really produces goods or trades with them, that is, enterprises. This means that this change can take place only when a Czechoslovak enterprise in Bulgaria, the USSR, the GDR, and that enterprises from those countries have contacts with our enterprises. It is fiction and a misunderstanding to believe it would be possible to start with freely convertible currencies first with regard to two commodities and second at a level where in every country three officials of the ministry of planning discuss the issue.

[Doleckova] As I know it is no longer a problem for our enterprises wanting to do import or export to get a permit for a foreign commercial activity. The same trend is typical for the USSR. I think that therefore the question of when are we to start trading in freely convertible currencies is quite realistic and worth asking.

[Klaus] I think that it is more complicated because what matters is not only the good intentions of this or that government or legislators of this or that country who would say that enterprises ought to export more. Each CEMA country today has a very different economic situation. You know well that in some there is relative stability, as for example in Czechoslovakia, but in others the situation is worse and if the trade in these countries is greatly out of balance then it is quite clear that the possibilities of enterprises to establish their own trade relations with other countries will be very repressed in spite of all good intentions of the government of these countries. [end recording]

[Announcer] As you might have noticed, Minister Klaus did not disclose the deadline for changing over to mutual accounting and payment in freely convertible currencies in the mutual trade of CEMA countries and explained why. In spite of this, it is envisioned, as was said at the CEMA session in Sofia, to take place by 1991.

Labor Minister Discusses Current Problems

AU2001091490 Vienna WOCHENPRESSE in German 19 Jan 90 pp 38-39

[Interview with Labor Minister Petr Miller by Jan Polesovsky; date and place not given: "We Are Not Careerists"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] WOCHENPRESSE: You enjoy the confidence of the population. Will this still be the case if you have to make unpopular decisions? The transition toward market economy will certainly entail increasing unemployment.

Miller: This will be unavoidable. It may happen that a jurist must cut grass if the employer finds a better jurist.

WOCHENPRESSE: Thus, the "right to work" does not automatically mean work itself?

Miller: Now you are quoting from the Constitution. However, there must be free competition. This may involve the closure of unprofitable enterprises. However, I am not the only minister responsible for this.

WOCHENPRESSE: The miners in Ostravia are already protesting against the government's plan to close several mines because they pose a danger to the environment. President Vaclav Havel and you yourself had to come to the region in order to calm down the miners. Were you successful?

Miller: During former visits of this kind, certain pits were selected, if pits were visited at all. The topics for discussion were determined in advance and the people who were allowed to participate were chosen in advance to avoid meeting disobedient miners. We deliberately chose the worst pit. The conditions that prevail there are horrible and a threat to the environment.

WOCHENPRESSE: What conclusions will you draw?

Miller: We have taken note of the concerns of the miners in Ostravia and promised them that the responsible organs will deal with these concerns. I told them that, if another minister should not show the necessary understanding, I will personally drag him into the worst pit.

WOCHENPRESSE: The resistance of environmental activists against the use of coal, of bad coal, for the generation of energy continues to grow. Resistance against the Temelin nuclear power plant is also increasing, not only here but also in neighboring Austria...

Miller: This is right. The problem of how energy can be generated in a sensible way continues to be unresolved. We must now try to find a common denominator for the concerns of the miners and the environmental activists. The workers must not be deprived of what they achieved through hard work, and the environment must be improved. Money may have to be provided for retraining miners.

WOCHENPRESSE: This will certainly not be popular. Free elections are scheduled for this spring. Will you personally have enough time to convince people that you have good intentions? You are not affiliated with a political party, and the new parties will try to send their own representatives into the next government.

Miller: Mr Havel, too, not Comrade Havel, did not think of his career in his courageous struggle for Charter 77. Believe me, I am not a careerist either. I have participated in the struggle for a long time, and did not jump on the bandwagon just now. If a person who is more capable of doing my job should take my place, all the better for the future of the country. [passage omitted]

Former CPCZ Officials Testify to Commission

LD2601184490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] The Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee's commission for assessing political responsibility for developments in the party and society, heard testimony today from the following leading officials: Gustav Husak, Lubomir Strougal, Jan Fojtik, Karel Hoffman, Miloslav Kruskovic, Alois Indra, and Josef Kempny, whose membership of the CPCZ was suspended by the extraordinary congress. More of the 32 former leading officials whose membership of the party was also suspended by the extraordinary congress will give testimony to the commission in the next few weeks.

Aleksey Zavada, a member of the commission, told a CTK correspondent that the commission takes the view that most of the former leading officials had become a liability to the party because of their policies, and because it was they who had taken it where it is now. He described the efforts by the former leaders to preserve the status quo in our country, and their inability or lack of will to react to developments in the world, especially to restructuring in the Soviet Union, as a gross political mistake.

Before today's commission session, held in camera, a CTK correspondent asked Gustav Husak for an interview. The latter refused, however, saying it was not the right time to give an interview.

CPCZ Recommends Expulsion of Former Leaders

LD2701194490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] The Executive Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, meeting today in Prague, approved the actions of the party leadership since the January session of the Central Committee aimed at its renewal and transformation to a modern left wing party. It approved the approach of representatives of the CPCZ during roundtable talks which addressed the reconstruction of the highest representative bodies in harmony with the appropriate laws.

It also approved the draft action for the founding of a CPCZ territorial organization in the Czech Socialist Republic. The Executive Committee described preparations for elections as the main task of all communists in the present period. It rejected the accusations which appeared recently in connection with information about an alleged coup.

On the basis of the conclusions of the relevant commission, it recommended to the Central Committee that former leadership members, Jan Fojtik, Alois Indra, and Josef Kempny be expelled from the Communist Party.

Mohorita Views Democratic Forum

AU1101214390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Jan 90 pp 1, 3

[Pavel Novak report: "Some 8,000 People Will Leave the Apparatus; From V. Mohorita's News Conference"]

[Excerpts] Prague (from our correspondent)— Vasil Mohorita, first secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, replied to journalists' questions in the CPCZ Press Center on Monday [8 January]. [passage omitted]

Speaking about the CPCZ's attitude to the Democratic Forum of Communists [DFC], Comrade Mohorita said that there have been contacts for about a month. He deplored the fact, however, that different DFC representatives turn up for every meeting who hold different views. He said that Rudolf Reiner was elected to the CPCZ Central Committee's Executive Committee on Saturday [6 January] on behalf of the DFC. Now some people claim that he is not member of the DFC. Comrade Mohorita confirmed his readiness to hold talks with competent representatives of the DFC.

Carnogursky on Political Parties Bill

LD1901055890 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] The Czechoslovak Parliament has discussed new bills on political parties, economic rights of churches, and the constitutional bill on [word indistinct] and election of new deputies.

Czechoslovak Vice Premier Jan Carnogursky said that the bill on political parties would be adopted for a limited period which will allow for the registration of new political parties which are being formed. Concerning request for the possible ban of any political party, Jan Carnogursky stated that the activity of any party must be in compliance with the Constitution. The new bill will also declare Civic Forum and Public Against Violence to be political movements.

Deputy Premier Discusses Political Parties

LD1901210990 Prague CTK in English 1805 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 13 (CTK)—Political parties, which are now shooting up like mushrooms in Czechoslovakia, cannot be considered political parties from the legal point of view, Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky said at a meeting of members of the Constitutional and Legal Committees of the House of Nations and the House of the People of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly here today when justifying the a bill on political parties.

There is no legislative background for the existence of new parties in Czechoslovakia, he said. Possibilities of setting up new political parties should be opened to ensure democracy and plurality in the preparation for free elections and a new law should be adopted in this connection. Jan Carnogursky stressed the temporary character of this legal norm, and said its definitive formulation will be discussed after the elections.

Deputy Jana Moltasova wondered if political movements would be allowed to work at workplaces. In schools and offices, after the ban on the activity of all political parties at those places. Jan Carnogursky said that the bill which is to be passed after the elections, does not allow activities of political movements at workplaces.

Members of the Constitutional and Legal Committees took note of the resignations of Josef Ondrej from the functions of a judge and chairman of the Supreme Court, and of eleven other Supreme Court judges, and voiced their support for the proposal for electing Otakar Motejl, member of the parliamentary commission supervising the investigation of the November 17, 1989 events, judge and chairman of the Supreme Court of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Hromadka, Komarek Grant News Conference

AU2712163789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Dec 89 p 8

["pp"-signed report: "From Now on a Reform for Real"]

[Text] Prague (from our correspondent) — At the outset of the Thursday [21 December] news conference on the session of the Federal Government, CSSR Deputy Premier Josef Hromadka briefed journalists on his talks in the Vatican. The result is that, after decades of difficulties, Karel Otcenasek, who had been ordained bishop as far back as the 1950's, can finally assume the office of residing bishop of the Hradec Kralove diocese [referent item refers to the Dvur Kralove diocese]. Jan Hirko has become residing bishop of the Greek Catholic Church in the Presov diocese with jurisdiction over the whole of Czechoslovakia. Frantisek Vanak, until now bishop of the Olomouc Archdiocese, has been named archbishop.

According to J. Hromadka, the filling of the remaining bishoprics depends only on the progress of the canonical inquiry and is thus the Vatican's affair. Immediately after the bishoprics are filled, the question of the successor to the archbishop of Prague will be tackled. Asked about a possible papal visit to Czechoslovakia, the federal premier replied that he discussed this issue in the Vatican and was told that the Pope's travels are planned for up to 2 years in advance. This is why J. Hromadka expressed the wish that his visit to Rome be regarded as the beginning of this 2-year calendar.

First Deputy Premier Valtr Komarek spoke about the range of economic issues which the federal government discussed on Thursday. He said that the reform planned for 1 January 1990 had been prepared in the sense of management technique rather than as a reform affecting the very essence of the economy. What was being prepared until now was not, owing to political pressure, a reform aimed at a market economy. The present government has no intention of continuing along this line. Its aim is to usher in a market economy with all its attributes and its logic in a relatively short period of time.

The basic legislation needs to be changed. It is necessary to introduce equality for all forms of ownership and to enable the founding of joint stock companies. In this context V. Komarek spoke about private enterprise being an inseparable feature of a modern economy. He said that, in order to be set in motion, the Czechoslovak industry needs foreign capital and private enterprise.

A much more rigorous budget and package of measures which are essential for radical reform are being prepared for 1 April. The laws on state enterprises, joint stock companies, and other issues must be revised. The government does not want to implement either a socialist or an antisocialist economic policy but it wants to implement a modern economic policy leading to prosperity. Asked about his assessment of the possibility of Czechoslovakia staying in CEMA, he replied that for him it is a problem whether CEMA still exists in the first place. The Soviet market is immensely important for us and we do not underrate the Polish or Hungarian markets either, he said. So far, however, economic cooperation has been taking place on a bilateral level only.

Aside from other information, V. Komarek announced that the government decided to officially apply for admission to the International Monetary Fund.

Urbanek, MLADA FRONTA Exchange Letters

AU1001145490

[Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 4 January on page 2 publishes a 500-word "open letter" by Libor Sevcik, MLADA FRONTA chief editor, to Karel Urbanek, former general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee and now chairman of the party's Central Control and Auditing Commission. In his letter, Sevcik reminds Karel Urbanek of his failure to date to reply to the questions raised in an earlier MLADA FRONTA letter, in which Urbanek was asked to illuminate the background to the "attempt at an armed putsch" by People's Militia units in the early days of the Prague demonstrations in the second half of November. Sevcik says that, although the People's Militia have been disbanded since then, MLADA FRONTA continues to be interested in who summoned the People's Militia units to Prague "to misuse them against students and the people of Prague." He expresses the belief that Urbanek still occupies an influential enough position to be able to provide an answer. Sevcik also calls on the new leadership of the prosecutor's general office to devote attention to this "unanswered question."

On 6 January, on page 2, RUDE PRAVO carries a 600-word "Standpoint by K. Urbanek on the MLADA FRONTA Chief Editor's Open Letter." In this "standpoint" Urbanek replies that the question about the responsibility for the summoning of People's Militia units to Prague on 21 November at night was put to the "wrong person" because he was chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic at that time and had no command over the People's Militia. He contends that he had no knowledge, and could not have had any knowledge, about the action of 21 and 22 November, all the more so as he was not even in Czechoslovakia at that time. Urbanek also reminds Communist Party of Czechoslovakia members among MLADA FRONTA journalists that one of their obligations is to study the resolution of the extraordinary party congress. In this resolution it is stated, as he explains, that it is not the task of the Central Control and Auditing Commission, of which he is chairman, to assess the political responsibility of former party leaders, but that a special commission will be set up for this purpose.

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 8 January on page 2 carries a 400-word Libor Sevcik letter to Karel Urbanek, which reacts to Urbanek's reply. Sevcik deplores that he and Urbanek "are talking at cross purposes" because Urbanek did not reply to MLADA FRONTA's questions but felt obliged to defend his innocence. He apologizes to Urbanek for his "grave error" because "I assumed that the general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee is competent to answer questions about what his predecessors were doing and why." Sevcik concludes his letter by saying: "Having read your reply I must say that you either really have nothing to say because you do not know anything, which is deplorable considering your past and present functions, or that you do not want to say anything, but that is your personal matter."

Republican Party Official on Party Program

LD1401221290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Report on studio interview with (Ivan Julis), member of the Preparatory committee of the newly formed Republican Party, by unidentified studio announcer; date not given—live or recorded; (Julis) in Slovak]

[Text] Among the new parties that have registered at the Federal Ministry of the Interior, there is also the Republican Party which will operate throughout the country. I have asked (Ivan Julis), a member of its Preparatory Committee, to tell me about its program.

[(Julis)] The Republican Party will work in conditions of democratic pluralism and in cooperation with all political organizations in Czechoslovakia. It is an organization operating throughout the country for the benefit of all citizens of the Republic.

[Announcer] On what ideological basis does your party want to work?

[(Julis)] the Republican Party ideologically bases its activity on ideals and permanent cultural and moral values and principles such as: morals, character, rationalization, restraint, tolerance, and so on.

[Announcer] What are your views on democracy and economy?

[(Julis)] We support the idea of direct democracy and in the economic sphere we support the theory of more market forces less state interference. We are in favor of equal opportunities for all citizens of Czechoslovakia.

[Announcer] And tell me now, what about human rights?

[(Julis)] We resolutely support the idea of observation of human and civic rights and are in favor of equal laws for citizens in Czechoslovakia. We are in favor of stabilization and legalization of the newly created political system. We support the idea for the newly born political system to react flexibly to internal and external changes. We are in favor of increasing the efficiency of the newly created political system. We propagate the idea of national awarness of citizens of the Republic and the idea of patriotism. We are striving for the democratization and decentralization of the state management and for it to be linked with the population, for freedom, individual responsibility, and the working discipline of people.

[Announcer] And where can those interested in membership in our party turn to?

[(Julis)] They can write to the following address: P.O. Box Republican Party, 815 77 Bratislava.

Republican Union News Conference on Policy

LD1701231490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] According to present estimates over 30 different political parties already exist or are preparing to be founded. One of these, the Republican Union, gave a press conference in Prague today. Zdenek Tomas reports:

[Tomas] The Republican Union is the result of the unification of the former Republican Party, the Republican Union, the Liberal European Party, and the Czechoslovak Party of Free Democrats. Why this unification? Because only a party which gains at least 5 percent of votes from the electorate will get into parliament, and simple mathematics means that in theory only 20, and in practice only 10, political parties stand a chance.

What is the policy of the Republican Union? Dr (Miroslav Kladek) told me this during the press conference:

[Begin Kladek recording] I would emphasize private ownership. The propagation of private ownership of the means of production, enterprises, banks, services and so on—that is, any other property without limitation concerning the amount of means of production, capital or number of employees. Next, the reintroduction of the market—the labor market, the property market, the financial market—because only in these markets are prices, interest and wages achieved at their true value and it is thus the only measure of our results. [end recording]

[Tomas] I would like to add that the Republican Union now has about 4,000 members and it has already made contact with similar parties in the United States of America, France and the FRG.

Workers Commission Founded To Discuss TU's

AU1001125190 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jan 90 p 1

[Unattributed CTK report: "A Workers' Commission Is Founded"]

[Text] Recently, a workers' commission was founded to discuss prospects for the trade union movement in Czechoslovakia.

At Friday's [5 January] news conference Jan Kaspar, chairman of the commission, said it is necessary that the trade unions' structure appears to be different than previously and that the strike committees reach agreement with the Action Committee. Their disagreement has caused problems in the trade union movement. We want to function as a consultative organ which will negotiate independently and which will not be in favor of either the strike committees or the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement Action Committee. Our main aim is to defend the workers' interests. The commission that has just been established should have 15-20 members. The commission's representatives also stated that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia claimed to defend the workers' interests but, in fact, these were only empty phrases. On the contrary, workers came last in the former regime.

'Independent Left' Begins To Organize

AU1201081990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report: "Independent Left"]

[Text] Prague— Aware of the need for creatively-, critically-, and independently-minded citizens striving for the comprehensive upgrading of the quality of our everyday life in this decade and the next century to associate on new and practical principles, the preparatory committee of the Independent Left association met in Prague on Saturday [6 January]. The basic principles of the association will be declared and the joint formulation of its program will be worked out at a discussion meeting of all interested persons in the Main Auditorium of the Charles University Faculty of Philosophy in Prague on 17 January at 1700. Information can be obtained at the following address: Engineer Oldrich Lebl, Regional Institute of National Health for Central Bohemia, No 2. U Nemocnice Street, 128 00 Prague-2.

New Members of SNR Presidium Listed

AU1312143989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Dec 89 p 1

["gc"-signed report: "From the 18th Meeting of the Slovak National Council: New Leadership"]

[Text] Bratislava— As Rudolf Schuster, chairman of the Slovak National Council [SNR], stated in his opening speech [at the 18th SNR meeting on 6 December], 20 of the 22 members of the SNR Presidium so far have been members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ]. The other two political parties which operate in Slovakia have been represented in the Presidium by one member each.

On the basis of the results of talks with the clubs of all three political parties and with deputies to the SNR without political affiliation, he recommended that the composition of the SNR Presidium be changed so that eight of them would be deputies for the CPCZ, three deputies for the Slovak Revival Party, three for the Freedom Party, and seven deputies without political affiliation. The SNR then recalled a total of 22 deputies from the posts of deputy chairmen, members of the Presidium, and chairmen of 9 SNR committees.

The meeting elected deputies Kazimir Nagy (CPCZ), Jan Majer (Slovak Revival Party), Jozef Sirotnak (Freedom Party), and Janka Blazejova (wihtout political affiliation) as SNR deputy chairmen. Deputies Rudolf Schuster (CPCZ), Pavol Adamcik (COCZ), Vladimir Minac (CPCZ), Jan Bruncko (CPCZ), Anna Rybnikarova (CPCZ), Jaroslav Svihorik (Slovak Revival Party), Emil Kucharovic (Freedom Party), Viera Lehotska (without political affiliation), Estera Kusyova (wihtout political affiliation), Daniel Zabojnik (without political affiliation), and Ondrej Kolacovsky (without political affiliation) as members of the SNR Presidium. It also elected new chairmen of SNR committees.

New Leadership Elected

AU2112130889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Dec 89 p 2

[Excerpts] Bratislava (PA)—The Club of Communist Deputies of the Slovak National Council [SNR] held a meeting in Bratislava yesterday [18 December]. [passage omitted] The club elected its nine-member leadership, headed by Comrades Ladislav Andel, Jan Bruncko, and Anna Rybnikarova.

Bohemian Greens Coordinating Committee Meets

LD1501041990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Excerpts] The Bohemian Land Cooperation Committee of the Green Party held its first session in Prague today. Representatives of all the Czech regions and Prague discussed preparations for the Green Party National Congress and the completion of the party's organizational structure.

From among their midst they chose two official spokesmen: (Miroslav Kulhavy) and Dr (Jan Jecminek). A national information center also was founded. [passage omitted]

A statement adopted also stressed that the Bohemian Land Coordination Committee of the Green Party expressed its support for all activities calling for the abolishment of capital punishment.

New Youth Union Party Proposed

AU1501161590

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 13 January carries a 400-word interview given by Jan Danhel, representative of the Socialist Youth Union, to Nada Adamcikova. The place and date of the interview are not specified. In the interview, entitled "They Did Not Get to the Table," Danhel states that so far his organization attended the "roundtable talks of the decisive political forces in the CSSR," even when not invited. He deplores the joint decision of the Civic Forum and the National Front to ban the youth union and student representatives from attending the talks on 11 January—a ban with which "all representatives of the political parties present agreed, with the exception of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia." He notes that the representatives of the youth union were even banned from attending the meeting on 11 January as observers, adding that during the pre-election period the union would like to act as a "sociopolitical service for new youth initiatives and political parties" and that it would like the social organizations to be allowed to nominate their own candidates. He concludes by saying: "Probably the only alternative left to young people is to found their own party of the young. Certain ideas on this already exist."

National Front in Karlovy Vary Disbands

AU1601124990 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 5 Jan 90 p 2

["vbo"-signed report: "National Front Out of Play"]

[Excerpt] Karlovy Vary— A previously unprecedented incident occurred at a session of the Karlovy Vary National Front District Committee. The Presidium of this body first presented a proposal that all five deputies representing Karlovy Vary district in the Federal Assembly and in the Czech National Council (including Generals Hasana and Rusov) be recalled and, subsequently, it itself resigned. [passage omitted] The participants of the session then decided to abolish the National Front District and City Committees and, until all legal aspects are resolved, handed over the National Front's property to the Karlovy Vary City National Committee. According to an agreement, the building will be made available to the Civic Forum as soon as possible, which will put the premises at the disposal of all political parties and newly emerging structures.

Split in TU Movement; New 'Center' Formed

AU1601132090

[Editorial Report] Prague PRACE in Czech on 8 January on pages 1 and 2 carries a 1,300-word Jiri Jandora report on a "national conference of representatives of strike committees and newly elected Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH] primary committees," which was held in Brno on 6 January and which elected a "Provisional Coordinating Trade Union Center" and convened a congress of all trade union federations for 4-5 March 1990 in Prague. On the same day, on page 1, PRACE publishes the 700-word "resolution" of the Brno conference. On 10 December, on page 1, PRACE publishes a 100- word statement by the "Action Committee of Trade Unions in Slovakia" and a 600-word "standpoint" issued by the "ROH Action Committee" on the conclusions of the Brno conference.

The Jandera report on the Brno conference quotes the main speaker, Igor Pleskot from the "Association of Strike Committees," on the situation in the Czechoslovak trade union movement. According to Pleskot, the "entire existing ROH structure," including the "ROH Action Committee," has no confidence of trade union members. At the same time, a "new structure" is now emerging, which is represented by the "newly elected ROH primary committees and the strike committees." Pleskot accuses the ROH Action Committee of "trying to perpetuate the old power structures at any price," even though he concedes that some of its members may have honest intentions. He also questions the ROH Action Committee's claim that it has "completely purged itself of its past" by pointing out that Miroslav Zavadil, former chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, continues to represent the ROH in the World Federation of Trade Unions.

In his speech Pleskot also criticizes the PRACE editorial office for its "lack of cooperation" with the Association of Strike Committees and asks whether it is true that the PRACE publishing house is "negotiating with an Australian press concern on its sale."

The resolution of the conference states that, "in the interest of a united trade union movement," the Brno conference decided to set up a provisional Coordinating Trade Union Center [prozatimni Koordinacni Odborove Centrum], which is made up of 6 representatives of the Association of Strike Committees, 6 representatives of the Forum of the Coordinating Workers Committees (the sister organization of the Association of Strike Committees in Slovakia), as well as of 20 representatives of enterprise trade union organizations. The activity of the coordinating center is to end on the day of the all-trade union congress, which the Brno conference convened for 4 and 5 March in Prague. The resolution also states that the conference "insists" that the ROH Action Committee and the Action Committee of Trade Unions in Slovakia, the follow-up organizations of the Central Trade Union Council and the Slovak Trade Union Council, serve as "administrative bodies only" and that, until the all-trade union congress is held, they be subordinated to the Coordinating Trade Union Center. In the resolution, the Brno conference demands, furthermore, that the Coordinating Trade Union Center be given access to the trade unions' financial resources and that it be recognized by the "central agencies" as the "sole representative of the trade union movement."

In its statement published on 10 January, the Action Committee of the Trade Unions in Slovakia declares that it "fully accepts" the resolution of the Brno conference, including the stipulation that it act as "administrative body only," and it calls upon all trade union organizations in Slovakia "to subordinate their activity to the provisional Coordinating Trade Union Center in the interest of the preservation of the unity of trade unions."

The "standpoint" of the ROH Action Committee published in the same issue of PRACE "rejects," on the other hand, the conclusions of the Brno conference "as a matter of principle." The "standpoint" points out that the Brno conference was attended by about 1,020 participants from about 500 enterprises, none of whom were elected. The Czechoslovak trade union movement as a whole, the standpoint continues, has about 28,000 primary organizations with 8 million members, "from which clearly follows that the meeting had no authority to adopt conclusions for the CSSR trade union movement." This is also why the ROH Action Committee denies the Brno conference the right to "legaly suspend the ROH Action Committee" and to "present the Coordinating Trade Union Center as a Czechoslovak trade union center entitled to have access to the property of Czechoslovak trade union members." In conclusion, the standpoint announces the ROH Action Committee's refusal to "renounce its responsibility for the defense of the vital social concerns of our citizens."

Rival Leaders on Split

AU1901084290 Prague PRACE in Czech 16 Jan 90 pp 1,2

[Report on interview with Igor Pleskot, representative of the Coordinating Trade Union Center, and Karel Henes, chairman of the Action Committee of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, by Vladislav Neuzil and Rudolf Unger in Usti nad Labem on 13 January: "Behind One Table"—first paragraph is PRACE introduction]

[Excerpts] The Coordinating Trade Union Center [KOC] was set up in Brno more than a week ago. It sprang up from the [Czech] Association of Strike Committees and the [Slovak] Forum of the Coordinating Workers Committees. The KOC did not have much good to say about the Action Committee of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH]. The Action Committee protested and issued a statement, from which it is apparent that it is not exactly fond of the KOC either. At first glance it looks as if two roosters were fighting in one barnyard instead of joining forces and doing the utmost for the newly emerging individual trade unions. [passage omitted]

Past negotiations between the two sides ended unsuccessfully. We therefore tried to seize the opportunity of the Congress of the Trade Union of Workers in the Chemical, Glass, and Printing Industries in Usti nad Labem on Saturday [13 January] in order to find answers to questions that are of interest to most trade union members. In the end we managed to make Igor Pleskot from the KOC and Karel Henes from the ROH Action Committee sit down at one table.

Question: Both sides' programs are virtually identical. Wherein do you see the main differences?

Henes: We drag behind us the ball and chain of the previous structures and no matter what we say it is always questioned. Otherwise both of us want the same thing—the creation of independent, strong, and united trade unions defending the rights of their members.

Pleskot: It is not only a question of the ball and chain but a question of symbol. I have no doubts about Mr Henes' subjective intentions but it is clear that the old structure will cling to the Action Committee. I am thinking of the old power structure. [passage omitted]

Question: The present situation could be described as one large trade union tug-of-war, with the trade union centers [KOC and the ROH Action Committee] both pulling in different directions. Do you share this view?

Henes: As for the questions of principle, we both share the same concerns and it is important that we should pull in the same direction. We differ in our views on what should be given greater weight now—the political situation or the solution of trade union problems. I personally give priority to the solution of trade union problems.

Pleskot: This is a proclamative [proklamativni] question. Both I and Mr Henes will proclaim that it is the questions of the trade union movement that matter and that we agree on a number of demands. On certain questions I am not sure whether we pull in the same direction. We differ on who represents trade union members. This is not just a question of political emphasis but also a question of the legality of the former ROH, which the Action Committee stresses. We differ on this point. [passage omitted]

Question What is the actual apparatus at your disposal?

Pleskot: If full-time professionals are what you have in mind, people who are not paid by other enterprises, then our apparatus consists of 7 or 8 people. Our apparatus depends on support from enterprises, on whether they make available to us some people from their own apparatus. [passage omitted]

Henes: Our actual apparatus consists of 50 people. But the number of those who actually work is smaller than that. The others already have different interests. We therefore decided to cut the all-trade union apparatus, starting with the Central Trade Union Council, 60 percent. This fact has an adverse impact on the performance of the apparatus. If requested to do so, we make available our apparatus to individual trade unions so that they can responsibly prepare their congresses.

Question Do you think that you are capable of pulling in the same direction, given the present complicated situation in the trade union movement?

Pleskot: I do not know.

Henes: I believe that it is indispensable in the interest of the preservation of trade union unity.

Labor Minister Takes Sides

AU1601132190

[Editorial Report] Prague PRACE in Czech on 8 January on pages 1 and 3 carries a 500-word interview with Petr Miller, CSSR minister of labor and social affairs, by Jiri Jandora entitled "With Whom Will You Negotiate?" The interview was conducted during the national conference of representatives of strike committees and newly elected Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH] primary committees in Brno on 6 January. In the interview Miller responds to the question which of the two trade union organizations which claim to represent Czechoslovak trade union members he regards as his ministry's partner in negotiations. Miller replies that it is very important for his ministry to have a trade union partner at the federal level. If the provisional trade union center set up at the Brno conference turns out to represent the majority of the Czechoslovak working people, he says, he will negotiate only with its representatives. Miller also mentions that whereas the Association of Strike Committees has already had several meetings with him, the "ROH Action Committee has been attacking me more or less and has shown no interest in talks, which, I think, is a rather grave mistake." Only a few days ago did the ROH Action Committee reportedly ask Miller for a first meeting.

TU Cultural Facilities May Become Independent

AU0901202690 Prague PRACE in Czech
3 Jan 90 p 5

["jel"-signed report: "Trade Union Cultural Establishments"]

[Excerpts] The Action Committee of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement dealt with the further activity of the trade unions' cultural establishments and the conduct of their economic affairs. It approved, inter alia, the granting of the status of a legal subject to all interested trade union cultural establishments. [passage omitted] With effect from today, it also abolished methodological workplaces and approved the plan to set up the Association of Trade Union Cultural Establishments and some regulations and stipulations.

Civic Forum Statement on Trade Unions

LD2112051189 Prague CTK in English
2230 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 19 (CTK)—It is necessary that the Czechoslovak trade union movement be consistently based on democratic elections which are demanded by strike committees and their national assocation. Then the progress achieved in the social sphere as well as what has been limited and suppressed could find their application, said a statement of the Civic forum coordinating Centre and the National Association of Strike Committees.

The statement further said that the Civic Forum realizes the needs of trade unions and approves the statement of strike committees. It called on all citizens to support the National Association of Strike committees and thus help create new democratic trade unions as soon as possible.

The totalitarian system of the rule of one party has resulted in a complete degeneration of the so-called revolutionary trade union movement. The degeneration has affected all organizing levels of the movement, the statement stressed and added that this degenerate structure based on the principle of centralization cannot become a basis for the creation of new modern trade unions. For several decades it has been rooted in different mutually connected apparatuses and poses a greater danger than people can realize, the document pointed out.

TU Action Committee To Support Government Policy

LD1401032390 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1730 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Petr Miller, federal minister of labor and social affairs, and Petr Kraus, secretary of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement Action Committee, have agreed that the Action Committee will support the government's efforts to tackle the topical problems stemming from its policy statement, and will work jointly to establish calm in society up to the free elections that are being prepared.

Minister Petr Miller promised that all the fundamental issues of the entitlements and social provision of the working people would be discussed with senior trade union movement officials.

Communique Issued on Trade Union Talks

LD2601172890 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 2130 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Talks on important aspects of the present situation in the trade unions were held today in Prague. Representatives of the Action Committee of the Revolutionary Trade Unions Movement and the trade unions coordination center of the Association of Strike Committees took part in the presence of representatives of individual trade unions, of the commission for the preparation of the extraordinary all-union congress, and of the Civic Forum coordination center.

At the end of the meeting, the participants adopted a communique which says that the Action Committee of the Revolutionary Trade Unions Movement, as legal representative of the hitherto Central Council of Trade Unions, and the Association of Strike Committees, as a representative of the new trade union movement, recognize the mandate and legal status of the newly elected committees of trade unions in places where their congresses or constituent conferences took place, as well as the mandate of the commission of individual trade unions for the preparation of the congress of all the individual trade unions.

At the same time, the congress of all the individual trade unions is recognized as the all-trade unions congress. It will enjoy full support and respect from the congress commission up to the congress itself, which will convene on 2 and 3 March.

Town, Village Union Formed To Ensure Democracy

LD1601171690 Prague CTK in English
1601 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 16 (CTK)—The Union of Towns and Villages in Czechoslovakia was founded here today, its chief task being ensuring of democracy in the system of the state administration.

The Union was founded as a voluntary interest organization aimed at asserting the position and rights of Czechoslovak towns and villages. It follows from its rules of organization that it will strive to change the system of national committees as the basic links of the state administration in order that towns and villages are given power and legal functions and autonomy corresponding with their mission in the democratic building of the state.

Until now, the state administration has been based on central, regional and local bodies of state power and suppressed the role of representative bodies on all levels. The central bodies of the state administration have pushed through their intentions regardless of the representative system of national committees which has led to the degeneration of both material and intellectual values in towns and villages.

Constituent Congress of 'Sokol' Held in Prague

AU1601132290 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 8 Jan 90 p 7

["mij"-signed report: "'Hurray' in the Palace of Congresses; The Czechoslovak Sokol Community Is Reality Again"]

[Excerpts] Prague (from our correspondent] —Sokols [Falcons] from all corners of the world descended on the Palace of Congresses in Prague on Sunday [7 January]. They did not want to miss the moment of the reestablishment of the Czechoslovak Sokol Community [banned after February 1948]. [passage omitted]

The activity of the Preparatory Committee of the Czechoslovak Sokol Community comprised 5 weeks. Doctor Boris Uher, its chairman, provided information on its content. He said that the committee applied for registration with the Ministry of Interior and made a request to the government for the return of Sokol's property. Sokol will operate as a politically and socially independent organization and does not want to merge with other unions. It is willing to respect only a state body which will operate as an umbrella organization for Czechoslovak physical education. This state body ought to be headed by Vera Caslavska. [passage omitted]

Following a debate, the 2,700 participants in the congress enthusiastically responded to the announcement that Sokol's statutes have been approved and that the activity of the Czechoslovak Sokol Community has thereby been renewed. The statutes will remain valid only for a year, however, until a regular congress of the Czechoslovak Sokol Community is held. Borivoj Petrak from Prague became president of the central office [starosta ustredi] of the Czechoslovak Sokol Community, which, too, will operate for only this 1 year. [passage omitted]

Apology to Trade Workers Affected by 1968

LD1601183490 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1130 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Czech Trade Minister Vlasta Stepova has sent an open letter to those workers in trade and tourism for whom 21 August 1968 was a personal catastrophe.

The letter apologizes to all who were prevented from using their talents in suitable posts only because they did not join the Czechoslovak Communist Party. It apologizes to party members who showed character and who refused to agree with a deed that was unlawful although they know that consequences could be irremediable.

Minister Vlasta Stepova says in her open letter that all those who want to work where commerce needs them should make their names known.

Economic Council Official on Economic Independence

AU1701085390 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 10 Jan 90 p 4

["vy"-signed report: "Do You Want To Be Independent? Ask the Founder"]

[Excerpts] The difficulties facing economic subjects seeking independence are generally known. [passage omitted]

The potential danger of one's superiors imposing sanctions has dissuaded many from their decision [to seek independence] and they gave up rather than continue their fight for independence. This is why the words of Jaromir Matejka from the Secretariat of the [Federal Government's] Economic Council, made at a news conference for economic journalists, can be regarded as the light at the end of the tunnel for those who still hesitate. [passage omitted] Any element of the economic structure interested in becoming independent is to file an application with the founder. It does not require the consent of the superior enterprise, it merely informs it. Should the founder procrastinate the processing of the application, the applicant is to turn to the Government.

Jaromir Matejka stressed that this is a provisional rule for the licensing of new enterprises. In the first quarter of this year new drafts of the respective laws will be drawn up which will regulate the practice once and for all.

DFC Splinter Group Sets Up Party

AU1701134190

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 16 Jan on page 3 carries an 850-word interview with Jaroslav Travnicek, member of the preparatory committee of the "Independent Left Party" [Strana Nezavislej Lavice], by Vit Suchy entitled "For Socialism in the Czechoslovak Tricolor; the Independent Left Party Introduces Itself." The date and place of the interview are not given.

Asked about the motives for the founding of the new party, Travnicek says: "The decision stems from the conclusions of the Extraordinary Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Congress, which we attended as guests within the framework of the delegation of the Democratic Forum of Communists [DFC]. Many of us were disappointed not only with its course but chiefly with its results. While the congress was still in progress, the more radical guests of the congress formed a group demanding that the DFC abandon the platform of the CPCZ, as an expression of this disagreement, and that it operate as a current of thought outside the CPCZ's framework. Unfortunately, disunity within the DFC as well as its indecision about the further course of action made us part ways ideologically with this movement."

Despite his supporters' claim to independence, their "reservations about the CPCZ," and their "dissatisfaction" with the program of the DFC, Travnicek affirms the need for a coalition of left-wing forces as "the only chance for the left to succeed in the elections." He adds, however, that his party would enter such a coalition only as an equal partner and would never accept subordination to another party.

Speaking about the party's ideology, Travnicek says that the party is opposed to "ideological diktats and doctrines" and that it "proceeds fully from humanitarian ideas" regardless of their origin: "For us it is irrelevant whether something is Masaryk's, Marx's, or Lenin's idea, what matters most is the idea's progressive nature." One "might say," Travnicek points out, that his party's aim is "socialism in the Czechoslovak tricolor."

Referring to the composition of his group, Travnicek notes that "90 percent are members of the intelligentsia."

Civic Forum Coordination Center Council Affirmed

AU1801143990 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 12 Jan 90 p 3

[A. Slezakova report: "Civic Forum Today and Tomorrow"]

[Excerpt] The Coordination Center Assembly of the Civic Forum convened last Saturday [6 January; place not specified]. At this session it approved, inter alia, the composition of a 3-member civic forum Coordination Center Council; the council is to be represented by Petr Pithart, Petr Kucera, and Ivan M. Havel. [passage omitted]

New Independent Left Party Founded

LD1701235790 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2130 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] The formation of the political program of a new—already the 38th—political party, the Independent Left [Nezavisla Lavica]—which arose from disappointment with the former policy and conclusions of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia extraordinary congress—has started today among a flood of remarks, discussion contributions, and sharp criticism. It does not even share the program of the Democratic Forum of Communists. At the same time it does not deny that, in the interests of a good move, it is willing to join in a coalition with them, and with other parties.

Romany Political Party Founded

AU1801192590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report in the "Briefly From Home" column]

[Text] Yesterday Emil Scuka, chairman of the Romany Civic Initiative (ROI) Preparatory Committee, submitted a request to the Federal Ministry of the Interior for the registration of the Romany Civic Initiative as a political party. Those interested in further details may write to the following addresses: Civic Forum Coordinating Center, Nationalities Section, Jungmannova 1, Prague 1, or, Dr. Klara Samkova, Pstrosova 25 Prague 1.

Civic Forum, PAV Meet With Central Bodies

LD1801224190 Prague CTK in English 2104 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 18 (CTK)—Representatives of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence [PAV] initiatives from the central bodies of the Czechoslovak state administration and the two republics met here today for consultations, to exchange views of and experience from the changes now under way at ministries and other central bodies and to agree on further joint activity.

The fact is that the cadre situation in the federal and republic central bodies of the state administration remains to be at variance with the political reality, with a majority of their employees still being members of the Communist Party.

It followed from the debate that at many places the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence succeeded in pushing through some cadre changes that are an important prerequisite for the modernization of the state administration which must abandon directive methods of management and aim at developing market economy. At other places the "power of nomenclature" has not yet been broken and everything has remained unchanged.

CTK Details News Tourism Regulations

LD1801185990 Prague CTK in English 1705 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 18 (CTK)—Czechoslovak customs bodies have been ordered to prevent destablization or even devastation of the country's internal market which could be caused by the influx of tourists from Western countries, Jan Vitkovsky, press spokesman for the Central Customs Administration which is subordinated to the Federal Trade Ministry, told a press conference here today.

Since January 8, stricter customs regulations, which were valid already last year on the borders with Hungary, the Soviet Union, Poland the GDR, have been applied also to Western tourists coming from Austria and West Germany. This means that customs officers will consistently check not only goods imported to Czechoslovakia but also goods bought in Czechoslovakia because after changing the rate of exchange of the Czechoslovak crown in tourism (roughly 40 crowns for one U.S. dollar) there is the danger of excessive purchases of food and some kinds of consumer goods here.

The agreement on visa-free travel between Czechoslovakia and Austria signed today removes the duty of obligatory exchange of schillings for Czechoslovak currency for Austrian citizens. They are only recommended a so-called minimum exchange of 150 West German Marks per one person. Similar conditions are valid for tourists from Finland and West Berlin who can also visit Czechoslovakia without asking for visas. In tourism with other Western states where visa is required. The obligatory exchange for foreign visitors is 30 West German Marks per one person and a day.

New border crossings with Austria—one in the south of Morovia and one in Slovakia—will be opened this year to make tourist contacts between Czechoslovakia and austria easier, Vitkovsky said.

The Czechoslovak State Bank recommends that it be made possible for tourists to pay their hotel accommodation either in cash directly in the hotel or through their credit cards. Press spokesman for the bank Alois Rous announced, adding that the introduction of foreign exchange loans to Czechoslovak citizens who want to travel abroad is being considered at present.

Heritage Foundation Leadership Elected

AU1901094890 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report: "Slovak Heritage Renewed"]

[Text] Bratislava—Yesterday in Bratislava Ladislav Chudik, Slovak Socialist Republic minister of culture, appointed a new 19-member Slovak National Heritage Foundation [Vybor Matice Slovenskej] in which representatives of Slovak cultural, scientific, and social life are represented. At its first session the Foundation elected Viliam Gruska as its chairman and Ludovit Haraksim and Miroslav Cipar as deputy chairmen. Members of the Presidium are: Anton Bagin; Frantisek Brezak; Hvezdon Koctuch; Rudolf Kositial; Ladislav Tazky; and Jozef Telgarsky. Its main task is to prepare the Foundation's general assembly which will elect steering organs in a democratic manner, will prepare the concept of a new Foundation law, and will renew the activity of its local sections.

New Spokesmen of Charter 77 Named

LD0801231990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2130 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] The positions of the hitherto spokesmen of Charter 77, Tomas Hradilek, Dana Nemcova, and Sasa Vondra, have been taken by new spokesmen: Miroslav Lehky, Jan Ruml, and Miroslav Tyl. Jan Ruml is taking part in the activity of an independent press center and Miroslav Lehky currently works as a programmer. Miroslav Tyl is one of the first signatories of Charter 77, a founding member of the Movement for Civic Freedom, a member of the Executive Committee of the newly founded Christian Democratic Party, and a member of the Council of the Civic Forum coordination center.

So far (?1,883) people have so far signed the basic statement of the Charter 77.

West Bohemia National Committee Chairman

AU1912161789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Dec 89 p 8

[Unattributed CTK report from the "By Telex, Mail, and Telephone" column]

[Text] In Plzen on Tuesday [12 December] Jiri Laurin was elected chairman of the West Bohemia Regional National Committee by a secret ballot, in place of Miroslav Novotny. The 18-member regional national committee has undergone considerable cadre changes; seven independents, the same number of Communists, two members of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, and two members of the Czechoslovak People's Party are now represented in it.

Ethnic Ukrainians Hold Extraordinary Congress

AU2401085990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
22 Jan 90 p 2

[Report by Jozef Juriscin: "On the Thin Ice of Harmonizing Interests; Extraordinary Congress of the Cultural Association of Ukrainian People in the CSSR"]

[Excerpts] Presov (from our correspondent)— The extraordinary congress of the Cultural Association of Ukrainian People in the CSSR (KZUP) held on Saturday [20 January] did not fully live up to the great expectations placed in it. [passage omitted] Its weak preparation, sharp exchanges of opinions coupled with overflowing emotions, and lack of clarity about many questions of principle left a mark on the atmosphere and the results of the congress. [passage omitted]

The extraordinary plenary meeting of the KZUP Central Committee on 5 December 1989 became the beginning of a new stage in the process of the self-perception of the Ruthenian-Ukrainian population and in the search for new paths. Its deliberations and the subsequent work by preparatory congress commissions took place under the strong influence of the "Ruthenians-Ukrainians for Democracy" initiative groups. The first such group was established in Presov. Groups in Medzilaborce, Bardejov, and Kosice followed suit. Remaining on the KZUP platform while disregarding the fact that Ruthenians represent the decisive part of the Ukrainian population of East Slovakia turned out to be an untenable position.

A logical conclusion of this development was the report submitted to the congress, which assessed the KZUP's activity since its founding. [passage omitted] The Stalinist deformations left a deep mark on the entire orientation of the association. [passage omitted] The fifties witnessed a decline, rather than the development, of minority schools. [passage omitted] The attempt of the late sixties to bring about a turn in the KZUP's activity not only did not come off but the organization was expelled from the National Front and subordinated to the Slovak Socialist Republic Ministry of Culture. Under these conditions, the process of the Ruthenians-Ukrainians' assimilation with Slovaks began to prevail. Although in 1987 the KZUP became a member organization of the CSSR National Front again, it was no longer able, in view of its organizational setup and the orientation of its activity, to cope with the tasks connected with saving the existence of this ethnic group.

The congress delegates approved a programmatic statement, provisional statutes, and a memorandum to the CSSR Federal Assembly, the Slovak National Council, and the Slovak Socialist Republic Government. An even more important outcome of the congress is the establishment of a new organization— the Association of Ruthenians-Ukrainians of Czechoslovakia. The association's main representative body is the Council of Ruthenians-Ukrainians. In a multi-candidate election, the delegates elected Michal Hirjak, employee of the KZUP Central Committee, as chairman of the council and Milan Bobak, chief editor of VESELKA, a children's magazine, as deputy chairman. [passage omitted]

Socialist Party To Hold Congress in Mar

LD1901211190 Prague CTK in English
1541 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 19 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Socialist Party Central Committee decided at its session here today to restore the old tradition and hold a national congress instead of a conference, calling this event for March 16-19.

The party will also return to its original emblem from the period before 1948 and will launch an all-party debate and organize a referendum on changing the party's name. Its date will be decided by a new party central committee elected at the forthcoming congress. The party's name is not to be changed before elections to the top representative bodies as a change might confuse the public and have a negative impact on the party's results in the elections.

Today's session has suspended the validity of the party rules till the congress and abolished the function of the party's central secretary. The session elected three secretaries of the party.

East-West Human Rights Groups Meet in Prague

AU2001084690 Paris AFP in English
0214 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 20 (AFP)—Human rights' groups from Eastern and Western Europe gathered here Friday for the first time and called on their members to stand up to the regimes in their home countries. The meeting, organised by the Paris-based International Federation for the Rights of Man (FIDH), saw delegates from Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, plus Romanian and Armenian exiles.

A Romanian delegation was expected late Friday, but a delegation from Soviet Armenia were not authorised to leave the country. It was the first time that so many rights activists had been able to attend such a meeting.

Western delegates came from Britain, France, Belgium, Austria and Italy.

All the speakers stressed that human rights groups should be "a sort of counter-authority, whatever the regimes in place in their countries", according to FIDH president Daniel Jacobi.

Mr. Jacobi said that activists "should involve themselves in human rights and nothing else, according to their role in society". He also declared himself impressed "by the spirit shown by our East European colleagues. They are not driven by a spirit of vengeance, but solely by the willpower to restore justice in their countries".

Three working groups were set up Friday, to discuss guarantees for democracy, Eastern Europe's minorities and Eastern Europe in the context of the European Convention of Human Rights.

Bank Official on Need for Price Reform

AU2401131190

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 23 January on page 3 carries a 1,300-word interview with Engineer Jaromir Zahradnik, deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak State Bank, by Marta Csontosova entitled "Electronics Are Stirring Up Mud in Our Foreign Exchange Waters." The place and date of the interview are not given. In the interview, Zahradnik discusses the "inevitability" of price reform in Czechoslovakia to prevent the outflow of the Czechoslovak currency and bulk purchases of Czechoslovak food products by Western tourists. According to Zahradnik, the recent opening of borders with Austria and the devaluation of the Czechoslovak currency against freely convertible currencies have made price reform even more urgent.

As Zahradnik explains, the price changes must concern mainly electronics and food products. Because of the high domestic prices of electronics products, he says, it is lucrative for Czechoslovaks to smuggle Czechoslovak korunas to the West and exchange them at the "ludicrously disadvantageous exchange rates" quoted by Western banks, which leads to the "outflow of korunas." The low, subsidized prices of food products, on the other hand, are likely "to have a negative impact on our internal market in border areas" and, consequently, to lead to the "outflow of national income." (The interviewer Csontosova confirms Zahradnik's concern by pointing out that Kcs1,000 buys only 200 grams of ham in Austria but 10 kilograms of ham in Czechoslovakia). Zahradnik warns that the the longer the period that the discrepancy between domestic and foreign prices is tackled, the worse the consequences for the Czechoslovak economy will be. Asked how "radical" the price reform has to be, Zahradnik replies: "I can say only one thing: Our prices must be similar to those in neighboring countries."

Sale of Foreign Exchange to Citizens Announced

AU1501132790

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 11 January on page 4 publishes a 700-word "joint announcement" by the Czechoslovak State Bank and the Federal Ministry of Finance on the rules under which Czechoslovak citizens can purchase foreign exchange.

Under the rules, which went into effect on 10 January, in 1990 Czechoslovak citizens over 15 will be able to purchase up to Kcs2,000 worth of Western currencies or Kcs10,000 worth of Yugoslav dinars at the "current tourist selling rate." The purchase of Yugoslav dinars in 1990 will exclude the citizen's right to buy Western currencies in the same year, and vice versa. The purchase will be entered in the buyer's passport and can be carried out only once a year. An unused claim for foreign currency will entitle the citizen to ask for double the amount in 1991. According to the announcement, children under 15 will be able to purchase Kcs5,000 worth of Yugoslav dinars (50 percent of the adult allocation), but no Western currencies.

As regards travel to socialist countries (with the exception of those for which hard currency is required, such as the PRC), the announcement specifies that in 1990 Czechoslovak citizens will be able to purchase socialist countries' currencies to the equivalent of Kcs15,000 per person and sojourn. This ruling is said to apply to both organized and individual tourism. However, the state bank "reserves the right" to impose restrictions on individual currencies in the course of the year.

In conclusion, the announcement states that, in addition to the officially exchanged amounts, Czechoslovak citizens traveling abroad may take out of the country Kcs1,000 worth of foreign exchange, without having to prove how they obtained the money.

CTK Views IMF Application

LD2301140990 Prague CTK in English 1305 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 23 (CTK)—If the Czechoslovak application for the admission to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) of January 15 is met, Czechoslovakia will again participate in activities of the organisation which it helped found almost 46 years ago. Specialists agree that owing to the current developments in Czechoslovakia, the application is not expected to meet with insuperable economic or political obstacles. Czechoslovakia would thus become the 153rd IMF member within a half or one year.

Czechoslovakia participated in the elaboration of an agreement in the American town of Bretton Woods in 1944 which was to contribute to the solution of post-war monetary and finanical problems in the world. It was one of the first IMF members. In fear for the preservation of national security in the Cold War period, Czechoslovakia, however, refused to provide detailed information about its economic development, foreign trade and especially the state of its balance of payments and foreign-exchange reserves. That was why it was stripped of IMF membership in 1954, four years after Poland.

Contacts with IMF representatives have been established in the past few years. The talks, however, revealed shortcomings of the then concept of the Czechoslovak economic reform. The IMF had reservations concerning especially the price system, the monopoly organisation of production and non-existence of the private sector in Czechoslovakia. The present government is ready to deal with these reservations and at the same time has pledged in its application to ensure access to all demanded information.

The so-called members' quota, the amount of which corresponds with the deposit contribution of individual countries is decisive for granting loans and for the number of the rights to vote. The IMF members' quota is derived from the gross output of the national economy, trade balance, foreign-exchange reserves and other data. Czechoslovakia could be in this case compared with Poland or Austria and its quote would be estimated at 800 million-1,000 million of the so-called special drawing rights. Poland's quota amounts roughly to 680 million, Austria's to 775 million special drawing rights.

Human Rights Conference Held in Prague

AU2401122590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Jan 90 p 2

[CTK report: "International Human Rights Federation Conference"]

[Text] Prague—An International Human Rights Federation [FIDH] conference which affiliated East European organizations struggling for the observance of human rights came to an end in Prague yesterday. Daniel Jacobi, FIDH chairman, and Petr Uhl, representative of the Czechoslovak Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Prosecuted, gave a briefing on the course and outcome of the talks at a news conference. Representatives from Armenia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, and the CSSR came together at the conference. According to the FIDH chairman, conference proceedings were devoted to the political situation in the East European countries, particularly with regard to the observance of fundamental human rights and freedoms. The abolition of capital punishment in East European countries and the ratification as soon as possible of all international agreements and pacts in the human rights sphere were identified as the most significant demands. It called upon governments to introduce teaching on human rights in schools and universities. The conference also adopted a resolution on the rights of national minorities.

Social Democratic Party Leadership Elected

AU2501174790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Jan 90 p 2

[CTK report in the "By Telex, Mail, and Telephone" column]

[Text] On Tuesday [23 January] in Prague the first nationwide session of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party Preparatory Committee elected Engineer Slavomir Klaban as its chairman. Engineer Rudolf Battek and Engineer Milan Veverka were elected deputy chairmen. The Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party's 24th congress will take place on 24 and 25 March.

Greens Protest Exclusion From Roundtable

AU2601110990

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 24 January on page 3, under the headline "Just Like the Others...," carries a 250-word statement issued by the Green Party's Slovak Coordinating Committee. In its statement the Coordinating Committee says, "We have not become part of the National Front and we are independent of the Public Against Violence and Civic Forum initiatives. It surprises us that despite the proclamations of an open policy, democracy, and national revival we have not been invited to the round table talks or to consultations with other parties." The Green Party demands that its representatives be able to "participate in consultations and talks in which the other political parties take part". In conclusion, the statement says that the Green Party considers current practice to be "discriminatory and undemocratic."

Czech, Slovak Government Program Described

LD2301163290 Prague CTK in English 1438 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 23 (CTK)—The governments of the Czech and Slovak republics will be sovereign but a considerable part of their powers will be transferred to the federal government, Czech Deputy Premier Antonin Baudys told journalists here today.

He spoke of some intentions of the prepared program of the Czech government which will be published after the final definition of the powers of the two governments. Besides the social program one of the main tasks will be restructuralization of Czechoslovak economy. A number of prosperous productions had been moved from Bohemia and Moravia to other countries in the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance which has brought considerable losses to the Czech economy, Beudys stressed.

As regards nationality minorities he said that Czechoslovakia has always ranked among states with no blot on its escutcheon in this sphere. The current open question—the demand for Moravia's sovereignty—is also not critical. The government will continue to financially support the press of national minorities in Bohemia, especially the Polish and German.

The government is dealing with requests for the return of church property, Antonin Baudys announced.

Spectrum of Ecological Movements Viewed

AU1101120290

[Editorial Report] Prague PRACE in Czech on 22 December, Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech on 3 January, and Bratislava VECERNIK in Slovak on 5 January publish interviews with representatives of different recently established ecological movements, in which they outline their policies and aims.

Prague PRACE in Czech on 22 January on page 3 publishes a 700-word interview with Engineer Josef Vavrousek, candidate of sciences, from the Research Institute of Scientific and Technical Development in Prague, by Jaroslava Treglova entitled "The 'Edges' of the Green Circle." In the interview, Vavrousek, who is member of the Council of the Green Circle [Zeleny Kruh], replies to questions concerning this "independent ecological association." Vavrousek says that the Green Circle was founded at the end of November in Prague in response to the need to "unify the fragmented ecological front." Its member organizations are "Brontosaurus, the Ecology Section of the Czechoslovak Biological Society operating under the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, the Czech and Slovak Central Committees of the Union of Nature Conservationists, the Ecological Society, Nika Prague, the Independent Peace Association, the Prague Ecological Center, and others" and it is "open to all existing and newly emerging Czechoslovak voluntary organizations and groups aimed at protecting nature and the environment."

Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech on 3 January on pages 1 and 2 publishes a 400-word interview with Tomas Zidek, representative of the "Green Alternative" [Zelena Alternativa], entitled "Why Green Alternative?" Asked about the motives for the founding of this "political party" at a time when the Green Party "has already acquired firm contours," Zidek says that the Green Alternative "differs principally [from the Green Party] in its approach to the solution of ecological problems." While the Green Party reportedly "gives priority to technocratic approaches," the Green Alternative's aim is to "enforce an alternative way of man's life, his conduct, his style of life, and his value orientation." It also maintains contact with "nontraditional special interest groups which match our programmatic aims," such as the "Friends of Natural Nutrition" or those who practice yoga. Zidek declares the Green Alternative's intention to "remain in a certain position of permanent opposition" even if a united Green Party is eventually formed.

Bratislava VECERNIK in Slovak on 5 January on pages 1 and 2 carries a 600-word interview with Engineer Peter Mudry, candidate of sciences, and Ladislav Miklos, candidate of sciences, "representatives" of the "Trend of the Third Millennium" [Trend Tretieho Tisicrocia] party, entitled "What Is TTT?" In the interview, Mudry explains the aims of this "party of the green type," which was set up on 2 December 1989 and forms part of the Slovak National Front. The party reportedly "has its roots in the Slovak Academy of Sciences" and is based in Banska Stiavnica. Asked how the party's program differs from that of the other parties with an ecological program, Mudry says that it approaches ecological problems from the "supradepartmental and supraregional" viewpoint and its solutions have "systemic and comprehensive character." The party seeks the presence of professional ecologists in the Federal Assembly, the national councils, and the governments so that it can "apply the results of ecological science in the political and managerial system." According to Miklos, this is what differentiates the Trend of the Third Millennium party from green parties in the world, which mostly want to be in opposition. Miklos mentions that his party proposes a coalition of green parties as well as the adoption of a "common platform."

Austrian Reports on Radioactive Leak Denied

AU2601083890 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Jan 90 p 13

[Article by Vladimir Vacha: "What Is True About the Greenpeace Report?"]

[Text] One cannot base serious conclusions on unverified information, all the more so if the source of this information is unknown. And it is even more irresponsible when such information is presented to the general public. This is how one might summarize my morning telephone conversation with Engineer Stefan Lasica, director of the Uranium Industry Chemical Processing Plant concern enterprise in Mydlovary, in which he commented on alleged radioactive contamination in southern Bohemia. Claims to this effect have appeared in leaflets of the Greenpeace movement and the information has also recently been picked up by some Austrian media.

To round off the basic information, let us add that toward the end of last week already Greenpeace representatives promised to present to the chairman of the [South Bohemia] Regional National Committee momentous information on an alleged accident in the chemical processing plant. As Engineer Lasica told us, they did not do so. The Monday [22 January] talks in the Mydlovary plant, which were attended on behalf of Greenpeace by Michal Undorf and Gabriela Markovicova, were also of a purely informative nature, according to the Mydlovary senior managers, and the Greenpeace representatives did not produce a single specific piece of evidence that would support their claim about a catastrophic accident in the early sixties.

"Basically, as we bade each other goodbye Monday evening we declared our readiness to make available to the Greenpeace organization all background information, which clearly proves that there has not been an accident in the plant since it began operation. We are also ready to give our support to an independent commission that would investigate the unwarranted accusations. All the more astonishing are the leaflets containing a great deal of irresponsible information on our plant," Jan Kriz, the plant's deputy director in charge of production technology, said at the outset of our meeting. Engineer Antonin Kalina, head of the management system and data-processing department, added that one of the very first arguments to be found in the Greenpeace press release is not based on truth. How could the plant's effluent in 1962 be contaminated when in the first one, or one and a half, years of its operations the Mydlovary plant did not discharge any effluent because it had to create water resources for itself first? It is also impossible to agree with the claim that the Czechoslovak uranium industry was subordinated to the Ministry of Interior.

Originally it was administered directly by the Government and, later, it was transferred to the jurisdiction of the Federal Ministry of Fuels and Power. Equally absurd is the claim that the plant had brought about the contamination of the "Mydlak" recreational lake. "Used water from our processing plant would have to flow uphill," Jan Kriz stresses, "because the lake is situated in a completely different locality." As to the Greenpeace contention that the water contains a high degree of acidity, one needs to consider the fact that lignite used to be mined here.

In fact, the dubious Greenpeace information does not contain any specific data on the leakage of radioactive or other hazardous substances into the atmosphere, soil, or water. It only speaks in general terms about extreme values that have been ascertained. Let us point out that as regards, for example, the concentration of radon in the closed sections of the processing plant, the values are within the limits of the norm that applies to housing construction in Sweden.

Our brief conversation was attended also by Milan Rys, chairman of the newly established trade union organization, and Ladislav Kucera, spokesman for the Civic Forum organization in the plant, who presented its standpoint to us. It states, among other things, that the materials published by the Greenpeace organization are not based on any serious background information and the Civic Forum, therefore, cannot agree with some of its points. It is not true, for example, that the plant used to be guarded by Soviet personnel, and the like. In view of the serious nature of the Greenpeace materials, the Civic Forum demands that an independent commission of experts be established that would take an objective stand on individual points, on the basis of measurements and materials from the past years. The Civic Forum demands that its representatives, as well as members of the trade union organization, participate in sessions of this commission. In conclusion the standpoint stresses that in the present process of democratization it is necessary that only verified facts be presented to the general public. A similar position has been assumed by Doctor Ludmila Havlikova, the regional sanitation officer, who told us that the sanitation office in southern Bohemia is not aware of any serious accident in the Mydlovary uranium-processing plant in the past years.

In spite of all the facts which I ascertained on Tuesday [23 January] directly in Mydlovary, the whole affair cannot be regarded as closed. This is also confirmed by a brief interview broadcast on Tuesday's television news, which referred to an emission of radioactive waters from the aforesaid chemical processing plant. Let us, therefore, hope that a news conference will be held soon to clarify the whole affair.

New Private Enterprise Law Drafted

AU2001125890 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Jan 90 p 2

["(ZR)"-signed report: "Completely Unrestricted Enterprise?"]

[Text] Prague—After 5 days of deliberation, the work of a group of specialists appointed by the Federal Government Presidium to prepare a working version of a law on private enterprise—a business law—has come to an end.

The law will be submitted to the Federal Government Economic Council on 23 January. It contains many completely new approaches involving the concept of private enterprise, especially on the equal status of all forms of ownership, and it guarantees the right to acquire unlimited property for enterprise purposes. Business authorization ensues from merely registering. The entrepreneur may use the labor of an unrestricted number of people for enterprise purposes. The entrepreneur may open an account in foreign currency both in a Czechoslovak foreign exchange institute [devizovy ustav] and in foreign banks.

A Federal Enterprise Office based in Prague and with branch offices in all district cities will open in January 1991 to deal comprehensively with all the problems faced by future Czechoslovak entrepreneurs. This activity will be carried out by national committees until the end of this year.

New Agricultural Bank To Go Into Business

AU1701100290 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 11 Jan 90 p 1

["sp"-signed report: "A One-Billion Endowment"]

[Text] Prague (sp)— The Czechoslovak shareholders of the newly established Agricultural Bank [Agrobanka], a joint stock company with a foreign ownership stake, came together for their first general meeting in Prague yesterday. They discussed the draft of the bank's founding contract, assessed its statutes, and confirmed by signature the Czechoslovak shareholders' equity share. All these documents will soon be submitted to the Czechoslovak State Bank for approval. Preliminary data testify to an extraordinary interest in the purchase of the Agricultural Bank's shares among both Czechoslovak and foreign shareholders. It is estimated that the bank's capital stock will amount to Kcs1 billion, of which 65 percent will be in Czechoslovak currency and 35 percent in freely convertible currencies.

Tax Relief for Private Businessmen Approved

AU0901233690 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Dec 89 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report: "Decree on Income Tax Relief"]

[Text] Prague— The Federal Ministry of Finance announces that on 28 December it issued a decree on income tax relief. The decree, which was discussed prior to its issuance with representatives of the Preparatory Committee of the Association of Czechoslovak Entrepreneurs [Sdruzeni Ceskoslovenskych Podnikatelu], takes effect on 1 January 1990. According to the decree, the income tax of all taxpayers having income from the provision of services on the basis of an authorization from the national committee is being reduced 50 percent. This reduction already applies to the taxation of their 1989 income. Taxpayers who provide services on the basis of an authorization from the national committee as their main occupation will be able to deduct from the tax, on top of the 50-percent reduction, Kcs1,000 for every started month in the calender year in which they carried out this activity as their main occupation. This relief, too, will already be applied to the taxation of the 1989 income.

The decree is a provisional solution, until new income tax legislation is passed in conjunction with the new legislative codification of private enterprise.

Prospects of Cooperation With Tomas Bata Outlined

AU0901125990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Jan 90 p 2

["ru"-signed report: "No Agreement So Far"]

[Text] We have obtained the following information from the Office of the CSSR Government Presidium concerning the often-raised question about an agreement between Czechoslovakia and Tomas Bata.

Reports to the effect that an agreement has already been concluded are not true. The CSSR Government is, however, greatly interested in concluding an agreement with this successful Czechoslovak industrialist of world repute. This is why it is now expeditiously preparing background materials so that specific negotiations with representatives of his company can start by the end of January at the latest.

Tomas Bata has not demanded compensation for the property he left behind. Work is now underway on the valuation of this property. This is a very complicated task because data on Tomas Bata's property date from May 1945 and are expressed in korunas. One scenario foresees that this value would become Tomas Bata's stake in a joint footwear enterprise in Czechoslovakia. There is also talk of direct investment. What is badly needed, and this is, in fact, true of our economy in its entirety, is the training of experts in business management. The idea has therefore been put forward that these experts be trained by the Bata company.

The guarantee of the effectiveness of this step, the financing of which surely will not be cheap, is the Bata company itself. It has a wide network of branches all over the world, has access to high quality yet relatively cheap raw materials, and avails itself of an accomplished management staff. Last but not least, it provides guarantee of high-quality footwear, which is in short supply in Czechoslovakia.

Youth Delegates To Set Up New Group

LD0812234889 Prague CTK in English 2226 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 8 (CTK)—Delegates of youth branches of several democratic parties and associations met here today with the aim to consider the political situation in the youth movement of Czechoslovakia.

The participants have arrived at common conclusions:

1) To set up group called Democratic Youth to coordinate activities of independent youth structures

2) All the participants are in principle against the prevailing monopoly of the Union of Socialist Youth and refuse to accept this body as an umbrella organization

3) Following this they demand a proportional division of the property of the Socialist Youth Union among other youth organizations

4) The representatives of Democratic Youth declare that their association is open to all democratic organizations, non-Marxist youth groups and youth sections of democratic parties that are in agreement with this attitude towards the Socialist Youth Union.

Christian Youth Clubs Hold Aktiv Meeting

AU1701091690 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 13 Jan 90 p 2

["(jl)"-signed report: "Young Christians Hold Aktiv Meeting"]

[Excerpts] Young people from all regions of Bohemia and Moravia gathered in the large hall of the Charitas Palace in Prague on Friday [12 January] evening, in order to express by their presence their will to work in the Christian Youth Clubs [KKMs]. The aktiv meeting, which had primarily a working character, was also greeted by Brother LLD J. Bartoncik, chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL] and deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly; by Brother PhD B. Svoboda, CSL deputy chairman; and by Brother LLD R. Sacher, CSL central secretary and CSSR minister of the interior. [passage omitted] A KKM Central Council, which will primarily operate as a coordinating body, was elected at the meeting; Brother Eng J. Kasal became its chairman.

SSM Shares Property With New Youth Groups

AU0901140090 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report: "The Socialist Youth Union Is Vacating Part of Its Building"]

[Text] Prague—The traditional plaque bearing the inscription Socialist Youth Union [SSM] Central Committee on the building on Maxim Gorkiy Square in Prague has in the last few days been complemented with other "calling cards"—that of the Czechoslovak Democratic Youth [Ceskoslovenska demokraticka mladez] and of the Youth Section of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party [Sekce mladych Ceskoslovenske socialne demokraticke strany]. A CTK correspondent has asked Jan Danhel, who is in charge of SSM's ties with newly emerging youth organizations and political parties, for the details:

On no account do we want to represent an umbrella organization, but we want to offer premises and material assistance. We have already initiated talks with the coordinating group of the Democratic Youth, which associates, so far, five non-Marxist youth movements. These talks resulted in the handing over of two rooms for the needs of the Czechoslovak Democratic Youth and the Youth Section of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party. In the course of this week we will vacate a whole floor so that every coordinating committee of an organization-to-be which applies for registration can avail itself of one room with a telephone and the necessary equipment.

Daniel Soural, representative of the Czechoslovak Democratic Youth, said: We assess the talks held with the SSM until now positively. One can say that the SSM people are far more accommodating than we expected.

Party Experts Meet on Legislative Issues

AU2401122990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Jan 90 p 2

[CTK report: "Experts on Legislation"]

[Text] Prague—Yesterday a committee of experts from the most important Czechoslovak political forces discussed issues involving electoral legislation. They considered the possibility of increasing the efficiency of the work of legislative bodies and of reducing the number of deputies in these bodies so that the professionalization of their activity can be guaranteed. In this connection, several variants were considered:

1. To reduce the total number of deputies in legislative bodies—the Chamber of People will have 150 deputies and the Chamber of Nations will have 150 deputies (75 elected in Bohemia and Moravia and 75 elected in Slovakia). The Czech National Council will have 150 deputies and the Slovak National Council will have 100 deputies.

2. The Czech National Council, with a total of 200 deputies, will elect 75 Chamber of Nations members from within its ranks; the Slovak National Council's 150 deputies will elect the same number of members to the Chamber of Nations. At the same time, the number of Chamber of People deputies will be reduced to 150 members.

3. The number of Chamber of People deputies will be maintained at 200. Both national councils—the Czech National Council with 200 deputies and the Slovak National Council with 150 deputies—will comprise the Chamber of Nations which will make decisions on all issues where a prohibition on the majority enforcing its will on the minority is applicable. The committee of experts has recommended the first variant. It will submit a law on Federal Assembly elections to the legislative committee before the end of January. Associated issues involving necessary changes to the Constitution and the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak Federation were also discussed.

23 Jan Parliament Session Summarized

AU2501185990 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 24 Jan 90 pp 1,2

[Report by LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE correspondent: "Dramatic Parliament Session"]

[Excerpts] A quite unprecedented situation—at least in the history of the CSSR Federal Assembly—occurred at yesterday's joint meeting of the Federal Assembly's two chambers. Even though the reporters of the People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations recommended, on behalf of all of the two chambers' committees, that the submitted draft law on recalling deputies to representative bodies and electing new ones be approved, something unexpected followed. While the People's Chamber and deputies to the Chamber of Nations elected in the Czech Socialist Republic approved the submitted law, the voting by deputies to the Chamber of Nations elected in Slovakia failed to produce the necessary three-fifths majority in favor of the law. Of the 56 deputies present, three voted against the law and 22 abstained.

Before examining where to look for the causes of this upset, let us say a few words about the explanatory statement on the draft law, which was delivered by J. Jeneral, deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly (Communist Party of Czechoslovakia) [CPCZ]. [passage omitted] He said that the draft law is a reaction to the present situation in society and the present balance of forces. The legal norm also takes account of the situation in some national committees and establishes conditions for changes not to take place chaotically and not to take place without the necessary political culture. Under the draft law, changes in the corps of deputies ought to take place on the basis of mutual agreement between the Civic Forum, the Public Against Violence, National Front bodies, political parties, and, as far as possible, all at the same time. The national committees' functions in ensuring the everyday needs of the residents of towns and villages must not be paralyzed. J. Jeneral stressed that the draft law proceeds from the agreement on principle reached at the roundtable talks between all decisive political forces. [passage omitted]

The first to ask to speak in the debate was deputy J. Risko (CPCZ). He warned that the present legislative processes are reminiscent of the CPCZ's course of action in 1969 and voiced the opinion that the Civic Forum and the CPCZ have now swapped their scripts. Without giving any specific arguments, he also expressed the assumption that, at the roundtable talks, political forces "are pushing the CPCZ into a corner." J. Risko also commented on Premier M. Calfa's departure from the CPCZ, saying that this step runs counter to the agreement reached at the roundtable and that in a parliamentary democracy it ought to be followed by the premier's resignation. J. Risko also asked the federal premier why the government had expressed a negative stand on the draft law on deputies last week and why it later changed its view. [passage omitted]

Reacting to Deputy Risko's statement, Brother St. Hanak (Czechoslovak People's Party), said the following: "What a pity that Mr Risko did not teach us a lesson in democracy in the past years. The democratic nature of the new constitutional law lies in the fact that tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, or in a week our people will be able to quite unambiguously and unmistakably deliver their opinion on each individual deputy who has been recalled or newly elected." [passage omitted]

Commenting on the comparison with the year 1969, Deputy Z. Jicinsky (without political affiliation) remarked that those who had left the corps of deputies in those days ceased, for all practical purposes, to be fully-fledged citizens. The deputies who will depart now, on the other hand, will not be prevented by anyone from again seeking the voters' trust in the next elections. [passage omitted]

Because CSSR Premier M. Calfa did not attend the morning session, Deputy J. Risko's question was answered by First Deputy Premier J. Carnogursky. He said that the change in the Federal Government's view on the necessity of the law was prompted by the situation that really existed and by reactions from various parts of the republic, according to which the renewal of the corps of deputies by means of the new constitutional law is indispensable. [passage omitted]

The draft law was then put to a vote, the outcome of which we note at the beginning of this report. The meeting was then interrupted. [passage omitted]

During the recess the deputies elected a joint arbitration committee, made up of 10 deputies from each chamber.

The afternoon session of the joint meeting of Federal Assembly chambers was attended by CSSR President V. Havel and CSSR Premier M. Calfa. President V. Havel appeared before the deputies with a keynote speech, in which he proposed, inter alia, changes in the name of the republic, in the state emblem, and in the name of the Army. [passage omitted]

Next, the deputies discussed the government-sponsored draft law on changes in the system of federal central bodies headed by a member of the CSSR Government. The draft, the explanatory statement on which was delivered by F. Podlena, CSSR minister of transportation and communications, provides for the division of the present CSSR Ministry of Transportation and Communications into a CSSR Ministry of Transportation and a CSSR Ministry of Communications. [passage omitted]

Deputy Brother Z. Lastovicka (Czechoslovak People's Party) said in the debate that the merger of the transportation and communications departments into a single ministry in 1988 was a mistake. It did not contribute anything to either the transportation and communications sectors, the national economy, or to the users of these services. [passage omitted] The present separation thus sets right a mistaken political decision made earlier. [passage omitted]

The deputies approved the submitted constitutional law, which will go into effect in February 1990.

First CSSR Deputy Premier J. Carnogursky delivered the explanatory statement on the government-sponsored draft law on political parties. In view of the fact that elections to legislative bodies are to take place in June, the government opted for a draft law that regulates only the most fundamental social relations connected with the founding and operation of political parties. The purpose of the law is to allow newly emerging political parties to register and engage in legal political activity as soon as possible. The draft law also makes possible the founding of political movements, in which political parties, social organizations, and citizens can associate. [passage omitted]

Deputies to the two chambers approved the draft law.

The next item on the agenda was the assessment of a draft law which amends Law No. 218 of 1948 on economic provisions for churches and religious societies. In an explanatory statement on the draft law, CSSR Deputy Premier J. Hromadka said that the law, which has been valid for the past 41 years without undergoing any changes, served as the main tool for the limitation of churches and ecclesiastical life in the past period. It introduced a stipulation which had until then been unknown and which was applied only in this state—the state's prior consent with the activity of all clergymen. Moreover, this consent could be withdrawn at any time without any obligation to state the reasons. The amendment of the law is thus essential for restoring the state's church policy on solid ground, even though it is only a provisional and partial solution of state-church relations. [passage omitted]

The debate produced changes and amendments, which were incorporated into the government-sponsored draft amendment to the church law and with which the amendment was approved.

The deputies then returned to the draft constitutional law on recalling deputies to representative bodies and electing new ones. Z. Jicinsky, chairman of the joint People's Chamber and Chamber of Nations arbitration committee, said that at the session of deputies' clubs [during the recess] no objections on principle had been raised regarding the contents of the draft law. Deputies to the Chamber of Nations elected in the Slovak Socialist Republic who had abstained from voting during the original discussion of the law explained that they did not have enough time to familiarize themselves with the draft. Z. Jicinsky recommended that the Chamber of Nations take another vote. Deputies elected in the Czech Socialist Republic, as well as deputies elected in the Slovak Socialist Republic then approved the draft law.

Deputy J. Stank, chairman of the joint commission of both Federal Assembly chambers and of the Czech National Council for supervising the investigation of the 17 November events, then briefed the session on the commission's work. (We publish an excerpt from the report elsewhere in this issue.) Deputy Stank said that the commission will carry on its work and will remain in contact with the CSSR General Prosecutor's Office and with the Federal Ministry of Interior.

R. Sacher, federal minister of interior, who asked to speak next, described the main tasks of the security forces and underlined the endeavor to subordinate their activity to democratic principles. He briefed deputies on specific measures that have been taken in this regard; the public is being kept continually informed about them. Minister R. Sacher called on the deputies to ponder ways of making a truly effective use of the parliament's powers in exercising control over the Ministry of Interior. [passage omitted]

The Federal Assembly voiced approval for the parliamentary commission's report. [passage omitted]

At the close of the meeting Deputy M. Kocab (without political affiliation) asked to speak. He endorsed the proposals the Czechoslovak president made in his address. He went on to deliver his standpoint on the presence of Soviet troops on our territory and dealt with the question of the legal foundation for their presence. [passage omitted]

S. Kukral, first deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly, proposed that this issue be addressed by the appropriate Federal Assembly committees and that they prepare a report for the next session of the Czechoslovak Parliament.

The joint meeting of the People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations then ended. [passage omitted]

CTK on Government Session 25 Jan

LD2501224790 Prague CTK in English 2012 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 25 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government had a session here today which expressed consent with constitutional bills on changing the country's name—the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic—to the Republic of Czechoslovakia and on changing the name of its republics as well. The government voiced also consent with a constitutional bill concerning the country's state emblem.

The government dealt with almost 50 stimuli for concrete discussions and measures which have resulted from the visit of the Czechoslovak president to the GDR and West Germany at the beginning of January. E.G. as regards West Germany, the opening of new border crossings are to be reviewed practically within the forthcoming months.

The government approved the procedure of the Czechoslovak delegation to the 45th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in Sofia. Czechoslovakia's demand for a radical change in the system of cooperation and in CEMA statutes, as expressed by Premier Marian Calfa in Sofia, will be voiced in a concrete form at the session of a special CEMA commission which could be held already in February.

Dealing with problems in connection with AIDS, the government agreed to take measures in harmony with a submitted program ensuing from proposals of the world health organization.

The government decided to comply with the request of Professor Miroslav Kusy and recalled him from the function of chairman of the Federal Office for Press and Information in connection with his appointment as rector of Comenius University in Bratislava.

Communique of 4 Jan Government Session

AU0901192390 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Jan 90 p 1

[Unattributed CTK report: "CSSR Government Held Session"]

[Text] The CSSR Government held its plenary meeting yesterday. At the outset of the meeting, Premier Marian Calfa provided information on his talks with Hans Modrow and Helmut Kohl and on cooperation with the GDR and the FRG.

He said that cooperation will concentrate on the political and economic spheres and will be a contribution not only to all countries involved but to the building of a common European home.

The government further dealt with questions of international economic cooperation in connection with preparations for the 45th session of CEMA and the 133d session of the CEMA Executive Committee. It approved the principles of the intended course of action by the Czechoslovak delegation at the CEMA session and by the CSSR's standing representative in CEMA at the Executive Committee session.

The government approved the principles of fixing the Czechoslovak koruna's exchange rate against foreign currencies and a set of concomitant measures. In relation to freely convertible currencies, the commercial exchange rate of the Czechoslovak koruna will be devalued by 18.6 percent and will proceed from an exchange rate of Kcs17 for one U.S. dollar. In relation to the transferable ruble, the Czechoslovak koruna will be revalued by 10 percent so that 1 transferable ruble equals Kcs9. The noncommercial exchange rate of the Czechoslovak koruna is being brought into equal level with the commercial rate.

The so-called tourist exchange rate is being introduced for the sale of foreign exchange within the framework of passive tourism as well as for the purchase of these funds from nonresident aliens within the framework of active tourism over and above the minimum amount that has to be exchanged. The starting mean tourist rate of exchange will be Kcs38 for one U.S. dollar and will be flexibly adjusted according to supply and demand. The selling and buying rates of exchange will be fixed within a range of 10 percent (up or down) from the mean rate. The noncommercial exchange rate of the Czechoslovak koruna against the Soviet ruble is being revalued by 20 percent to Kcs8 per R1.

As regards the minimum amount that must be exchanged by tourists from countries with which visa-free travel has been introduced, it represents 30 German marks per person per day of travel and 150 German marks for sojourns of several days or the equivalent in another convertible currency. For tourists from countries with a visa duty, the existing system of mandatory minimum exchange of 30 German marks, or the equivalent in another convertible currency, per person per day travel is being retained.

As regards individual passive tourism, it is foreseen that the existing system of foreign exchange allocations will be replaced by the introduction of an entitlement for Czechoslovak citizens to purchase foreign exchange funds for travel to nonsocialist countries and Yugoslavia once a year.

The CSSR People's Control Committee submitted to the government the results of an inquiry into how the State Program of Ecological Investments is being ensured.

The CSSR Government took note of this report and, at the same time, laid down tasks concerning the drafting of a state ecological program.

In view of the fact that the moratorium on the start of building projects has not acquitted itself well and because it has not been possible to introduce regulatory levies on investments from 1 January 1990, the most suitable instrument of regulating the start of investment projects in 1990 appears to be the introduction of a mandatory deposit when starting a project.

On the basis of this government decision, an organization availing itself of a building permit for the start of a project this year will not be able to start building unless it proves to the building authority that it has at its disposal sufficient financial means in the development fund and that it deposited these resources in a special bank or savings bank account.

The federal government assumed a stand on the problem of participation by the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in decisions on matters concerning legislative decisions by the Government and central bodies of the CSSR state administration. It took note of the fact that, as a result of the sociopolitical situation that has come about toward the end of 1989, the present central body of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement—the Central Trade Union Council—lost the support of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement membership base, ceased to be a representative of the trade union movement, and cannot therefore continue to discharge the legal powers which are vested in it by the relevant laws in the sphere of setting legal norms.

The prevailing view in the government is that, in the interest of the necessary smooth fulfillment of its constitutional functions, the condition of discussion or agreement with the Central Trade Union Council will be met when legislative proposals of the Government and federal central bodies of state administration are discussed with the Nationwide Association of Strike Committees and with the Action Committee of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, until a new supreme body of the trade union movement is established.

The CSSR Government approved the text of its appeal to former Czechoslovak citizens living in emigration. In this statement, which will be published separately, the CSSR Government calls for the cooperation of all compatriots—Czechs, Slovaks, and members of ethnic minorities—who perceive Czechoslovakia as their homeland.

At its session, the government took note of the fact that the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences [CSAV] resigned in its entirety in December and that an extraordinary general assembly of CSAV members, in the presence of the newly established Chamber of Elected Representatives of CSAV Workplaces, approved the proposal to set up a new CSAV Presidium. On the basis of this proposal, the CSSR Government appointed Academicians Dionyz Blaskovic, Armin Delong, Ivan Hrivnak, Miroslav Katetov, and Viktor Knapp and CSAV corresponding member Valtr Komarek as CSAV deputy chairmen. It further appointed Academician Karel Martinek as scientific secretary.

The CSSR Government also approved the draft legal measure of the Federal Assembly Presidium on political parties. This draft solves for a transitional period the legal aspects of the founding of political parties, responding thereby to topical political requirements and to the situation in society.

The aim of this transitional regulation is to make possible the speedy founding of new political parties as legal entities and ensure the development of their political activity. This is why this is not a regulation that would lay down completely and with precision the limits for the founding and activity of political parties. It is expected that a draft law containing more detailed rules will be worked out in the near future.

Furthermore, the government expressed its approval of the draft legal measure of the Federal Assembly which changes law No. 218 of 1949 on the economic safeguarding of churches and religious societies by the state. This amendment is aimed at eliminating the necessity of the state giving its consent to the performance of clerical activity, which has been overcome by developments in Czechoslovakia.

This draft legal measure is a partial amendment, the urgent need for which is called forth by democratic transformations in society. The whole range of questions concerning the position of churches and religious societies will be addressed by the planned comprehensive legal codification of the freedom of religious belief, the churches, and religious societies.

The CSSR Government voiced consent with the proposal for the CSSR to seek the status of guest state of the Council of Europe and for its entry to this organization as soon as possible. It commissioned the minister of foreign affairs to enter into negotiations on this issue immediately.

Having discussed the situation in the labor force in some organizations in the wake of the amnesty decreed by the president of the republic on 1 January 1990, the government adopted measures to secure manpower for these organizations.

More on Federal Assembly Personnel Changes

AU0501115690

[Editorial Report] Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak on pages 1 and 2 carries a 1,600-word CTK report on the 19th and 20th meetings of Federal Assembly chambers held in Prague on 28 December. The report includes the following personnel changes, in addition to the election of new Federal Assembly deputies (covered by first referent item); the election of a new chairman of the Chamber of Nations (covered by the second referent item); and the election of new Federal Assembly deputy chairmen (covered by third referent item):

According to CTK the report, at a separate meeting held between the 19th and 20th joint meetings of both chambers, the Chamber of Nations accepted the resignations of Dezider Zagiba and Tomas Travnicek from the post of CSSR Federal Assembly Presidium members and elected Alexander Dubcek and Zdenek Jicinsky (both without party affiliation) to the vacated posts. It also accepted the resignations of Zdenek Sytny and Helena Ivanicova from the Chamber of Nations Presidium and replaced them with Stanislav Hanak (member of the Czechoslovak People's Party) and Stefan Trsko (without party affiliation).

The ROLNICKE NOVINY report also includes a list of 16 People's Chamber and 10 Chamber of Nations members who have given up their mandates since the 17 November events. They are:

For the People's Chamber: Jaroslava Simunkova, Lubomir Strougal, Miroslav Stepan, Antonin Kapek, Milos Jakes, Zbynek Zalman, Ladislav Stejskal, Vaclav Rabas, Jan Zelenka, Vladimir Herman, Alois Indra, Emil Rigo, Vladimir Hajko, Vasil Bilak, Jan Jirasek, and Zdenek Cumpl.

For the Chamber of Nations: Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, Marie Kabrhelova, Josef Kempny, Josef Mevald, Josef Riman, Viliam Salgovic, Gejza Slapka, Jindrich Zahradnik, and Zdenek Sytny.

Agrarian Party Chairman on Law on Deputies

LD2501132490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Dr Frantisek Trnka, chairman of the Czechoslovak Agrarian Party, in a statement to CTK, voiced his criticism of the constitutional law passed by the Federal Assembly on recalling and electing new deputies of representatives bodies. He admits that many deputies have lost the trust of their voters, and that it is right for them to leave. Despite this, the law does not correspond to the spirit of the present democratic changes of our society because it does not allow the same changes to the newly created political parties.

On behalf of the Czechoslovak Agrarian Party, Frantisek Trnka has asked the Federal Assembly to focus its attention on the preparation of free elections, and not to first adopt laws which would interfere fundametaly in the constitutional order of the republic. He also said that consideration should be given to an international commission observing the election preparations and proceedings.

New Financial Guidelines for Foreign Travel

AU0901062290 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 30 Dec 89 p 2

["lh"-signed report: "Foreign Currency Allocations Are Gone"]

[Text] The Czechoslovak State Bank and the Federal Ministry of Finance announce that the provision of financial funds to Czechoslovak tourists traveling abroad in 1990 will be guided by principles declared by the CSSR Government. The sale of convertible currencies and of the currencies of socialist states will start in the first half of January. The allocation of money for travel to CEMA countries will be subject to similar regulations as those applying thus far, while the allocation of money for travel to nonsocialist states and Yugoslavia will proceed from different principles.

According to our information, it has been proposed to the federal government that next year Czechoslovak citizens should be entitled to purchase foreign exchange worth Kcs1,000, which, given the simultaneous increase in the exchange rate [of the dollar against the koruna], will represent approximately $24. If someone does not make use of this possibility, he will be entitled to purchase foreign exchange for Kcs2,000 in the subsequent year and, moreover, will receive a bonus. Travelers to Yugoslavia will be able to purchase dinars for Kcs5,000 or Kcs10,000.

Review of Czech Dailies

LD2601093990 Prague CTK in English 0704 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 26 (CTK)—All Czech dailies inform about the visit of President Vaclav Havel to Poland and carry excerpts from his speech in the Polish parliament.

The daily MLADA FRONTA comments on the U.S. and Western opinions on the development of the situation in the Soviet Union in connection with the situation in Central and Eastern Europe.

The trade union daily PRACE mentions the 80th birthday anniversary of outstanding Czech film director Elmar Klos who has made a number of excellent films with Jan Kadar; including "Obchod na Korze" (Shop on the Promenade) in 1965 which was awarded the Oscar academy award. The daily also publishes an interview with Czech Minister of Culture Milan Lukes who spoke about cultural contacts with foreign countries (France, Spain) and about the possibilities of the future in rosy colours. We must show the people that only their work is a road towards personal and social welfare, Calfa underlined.

The daily also comments on the rumours according to which a state coup should be carried out at the end of January and beginning of February. It quotes Minister of the Interior Richard Sacher who said that it is a provocation aimed at alarming the public opinion.

National Defence Minister Miroslav Vacek spoke in his interview for the daily about the possibilities of shortening military service and decreasing the number of soldiers.

Bratislava—all Slovak dailies write about the visit of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel to Poland, the tense situation in Azerbaijan, mention China's protest against the planned visit of the Dalai Lama to Czechoslovakia, and the suspension of the withdrawal of Cuban soldiers from Angola.

The dailies deal with the session of the Czechoslovak government and information of a representative of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry on the main intentions of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy concerning Slovakia.

SMENA analyses the current internal political situation in Czechoslovakia, concentrating above all on the position Slovakia has in a state of two nations.

The daily of the Slovak Communist Party PRAVDA writes about the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the Indian republic.

The daily of the Democratic Party LUD carries an interview with Deputy Chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly and member of the Executive Committee of the Democratic Party Jozef Simuth about his impressions from the international conference global forum on the environment which has been held in Moscow.

20,000 Demonstrate for Soviet Troop Withdrawal

LD2801180590 Prague CTK in English 1702 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 28 (CTK)—The quickest possible departure of Soviet troops from the Olomouc District, North Moravia, was urged at a demonstration staged here today of more than 20,000 people, a number roughly equal to that of Soviet soldiers, civil workers, and their families staying in the district since August 1968.

The demonstrators also voiced support for Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel's coming Moscow talks on the withdrawal.

At the Soviet command in Olomouc the demonstrators delivered a petition to garrison commander Major General Evgeni Meshcheryakov. He assured them that he will wait for the Mikhail Gorbachev-Vaclav Havel talks, and then discuss dates for the withdrawal with national committees (local government bodies).

He told the demonstrators that the activity of Soviet troops in Olomouc and in the Libava military area has no longer the character of military preparations, but is aimed at departure from Czechoslovakia.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Regrets PRC Protest

LD2601180190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] The Foreign Ministry spokesman has issued a statement on the sharp protest by the PRC Government against President Vaclav Havel's invitation to the Dalai Lama to make a private visit to Czechoslovakia. He reiterated that the visit was strictly a private one and that this was reflected by its agenda.

The invitation to the Dalai Lama is in no way directed against the interests of the PRC. We, therefore, express regret at the reaction of the PRC, with which we have been carrying out all-round and mutually advantageous cooperation for many years now, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said, adding that Czechoslovakia valued the existing level of mutual relations. At the same time, he reaffirmed our interest in further developing relations with the PRC.

Commentary Views Transcausasian 'Revolution'

LD2101133290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0830 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Vladimir Vercak commentary]

[Excerpts] We are a nation that likes to hide its true human face, as if ashamed of our fears for our neighbors. Only great misfortune or iniquity has shown that we truly uphold Masaryk's humanitarian ideal, regardless of who is in power in this country. That is why we organized—without the need for instructions and rubber stamps—relief aid for the people of Armenia when they suffered the earthquake. This is why we also did not forget, many months later, a much richer country when we sent aid to those in California who had lost everything.

Our autumn of revolution showed the whole world how much we respect human life, because although many fell, they were only political or moral demises; human lives were not lost. [passage omitted]

In his 1905 Essays on the Nation, our first president, Tomas Garrigue Masaryk, warned against the kind of approach whereby someone who is angry at his neighbor does not live his own life, but is interested only in what his neighbor is doing, and thus poisons his whole life. To hate another nationality is cheap and negative patriotism. What is needed is positive patriotism, where we are not constantly concerned with what our neighbor is doing, but rather pay attention to our own people.

These same fears were shared 85 years later by a man described in the Soviet Union as the conscience of the nation. Academician Andrey Sakharov. He did not live to see the civil war in the Transcaucasian republics, but somehow he seemed to feel the possibility of such a conflict. That is why, up to the last minutes of his life, he was working on a new version of the Constitution that would guarantee that the different republics have what has been denied them for decades: the freedom to choose their own path of development in a democratic state of many different nationalities.

All this, however, means that structures must be broken down. We have first-hand experience with that difficult task. Our November revolution still does not have that victory under its belt, but perhaps what we are most fearful of at the moment is the man whose name was on the lips of those who marched through the streets of the Czech towns and cities in August, January, and November—Mikhail Gorbachev. He was the guarantee that our future had a purpose, and that it was merely a question of time until changes came about in our country, too.

Today when we are reaping the first, albeit yet meager, harvest of our velvet revolution—which would have been impossible at this time and with such force had it not been for the demise of the Brezhnev Doctrine and the onset of restructuring in the Soviet Union—Mikhail Gorbachev is having to bite the bitter fruit of that tree. We are not the only ones who are apprehensive, however. It is enough to read the American newspapers and listen to the statements of Western politicians in the media. They are all keeping their fingers crossed for him, as is Central Europe.

In the Soviet Union, however, the situation is much more complex. The outcome of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Lithuania has not resolved the issue there, and what we are seeing is the calm before the storm. The partial mobilization and the state of emergency in the Transcaucasus republics are a dangerous slow fuse. The enemies of restructuring are rubbing their hands, because the chickens have come home to roost. Meanwhile, they are slowly and quietly putting one spoke after another into the wheel of change. Through their "loyalty to the cause," which solves nothing, they are merely helping to increase discontent. They are hiding in the shadow of a great figure, trying to rake up enough mud to throw when they think the time is right. They have thus put their own interests above those of the people and nations of their own country. Why? Because they are still living in the grip of the idea that what is good for them must also be good for the people, and not vice versa. The example of other countries, which tend to be called Moscow's satellites, where the people have taken their destiny into their own hands, represent for them a warning that they stand to lose their last remaining privileges.

Today is not 1968 however, and it is no longer possible to resolve everything by force, either at home or abroad. Thus it is merely a question of time until we see what form of new revolution takes. We hope it will be a velvet one for them too, because the Romanian sort must never be allowed to happen again.

Situation in Transcaucasus Viewed

AU2501173990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Jan 90 p 14

["(ZI)"-signed commentary: "Reason or Passion?"]

[Text] We in Czechoslovakia are also reading the reports from the Transcaucasus with sadness. After all, on both sides of the local (and in no way symbolic) barricades are our friends, both known and unknown. Let reason defy this in whatever way, the fact is that the citizens of one state raised first of all their fists and then their weapons against each other. This state is differentiated only by its nationalities: Azerbi and Armenian.

Somewhere in the mists of time an almost impenetrable barrier between people of different religions was put up—the Islamic faith of some and the Christian God of others. This was the source of bitter, even perverse intolerance, which led to the notorious Caucasian butchery.

After seven decades, the Soviet state had constructed bridges of civil coexistence and friendship between its nations. However, the distant past came back from the depths of history with new force. Could there be religious fanaticism again? Nationalist fanaticism? We do not in the least want to diminish the mistakes made by this or that Transcaucasian leadership—as Mikhail Gorbachev said on Soviet television on Saturday [20 January]—by placing these question marks. He rightly referred to the "prolonged nationalist conflict," to "pressure from nationalist groups," and to "nationalist bestiality" when he justified why the central government's Armed Forces had to intervene in the most passionately raging flash points.

Just like Gorbachev, the Soviet Union's friends abroad also correctly realize at the moment that the Transcaucasian drama has thrust perestroyka into its most severe test. Its most severe test because blood is flowing, and because the Army has had to wedge itself between acutely definable fronts of unbridled nationalist passions. The central government is now confronting critics on two sides. According to some people, it hesitated too much in sending in the Army; according to others, it was precipitous in declaring a state of emergency and especially in sending troops into Baku.

Every government has the right and duty to make use of all its available political (these first of all) and authoritative resources. All in all, the timeliness and decisiveness of the firefighters intervention decides on the extent of the fire and on its consequences. The fire in the Transcaucasus is no longer only a local event, but is assuming even broader political dimensions. Because the extremists are trying to drag neighboring Iran into it, it is also assuming international dimensions.

All of this arouses general anxiety. Anxiety about whether the nationalist passions surrounding Nagorno Karabakh and throughout the entire Azerbaijan-Armenia region have gone too far. Only a path of wisdom and common sense will lead to civil peace in the Transcaucasus.

One thing is certain: the prolonged conflict, with all the Soviet central government's decisiveness, will have a denouement that is no less prolonged.

Palestinian Official on Peres Visit

AU2401203990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Jan 90 p 7

["(ZR)"-signed report: "For a Dialogue With Israel"]

[Text] Samih 'Abd al-Fattah, Palestinian ambassador to the CSSR, issued a statement yesterday in which he reacted to the pronouncement made by Shim'on Peres, Israeli vice prime minister and finance minister, in yesterday's SVOBODNE SLOVO. The Palestinian ambassador welcomes Peres' statement on Israel's readiness to conduct a dialogue with the Palestinians and its willingness to sit with them at the negotiating table.

The diplomat's statement recollects that, through its peace initiative of 15 November 1988 and through the speech delivered by President Yasir 'Arafat at a UN General Assembly session in Geneva in December of the same year, the Palestine Liberation Organization appealed for a just solution to the crisis in the Middle East and to its very heart, the Palestinian issue, by conducting dialogue and negotiations on the basis of a UN resolution, including a Security Council resolution. However, it is regrettable that until now the Palestinian peace initiative has not met with a constructive response from the Israeli Government, which rejects international peace efforts to conduct a Palestinian-Israeli dialogue. Samih 'Abd al-Fattah accepts with pleasure Mr. Peres' statement that prior to the start of the Palestinian uprising he had been convinced of the necessity of a historical compromise between the Israelis and the Palestinians. At the same time, he writes: "However, we have the right to ask what exactly was he doing in this interest when, approximately two years ago, he himself was premier?"

As far as the idea of holding elections on the occupied Palestinian territories is concerned—reads the Palestinian ambassador's statement—it is necessary to remember that the PLO welcomed the idea of holding free and democratic elections under the aegis of the United Nations as part of the overall process of settling the crisis in the Middle East. In this connection, the PLO proposed that the same method be used for resolving problems which had been successfully implemented in Namibia; unfortunately, this came up against objections from the Israeli Government.

We concur with Mr. Peres in his conviction that conflicts between nations cannot be resolved by violence and terror. However, the whole world knows that by continuing its military occupation of Palestinian and Arab territories and by suppressing the unarmed Palestinian popular uprising the Israeli Government is implementing violence and terror. In this connection, the

Palestinian ambassador to Czechoslovakia recalled the most recent resolution—of 18 January—from the European Parliament in Strasbourg, a resolution which adresses Israeli violations of human rights on the occupied Palestinian territories. "We would like to hope that Mr. Peres will also take into consideration the opinion of the Socialist International, of which his Israeli Labor Party is a member, for a just solution to the Palestinian issue."

At the conclusion of his statement, the ambassador of the State of Palestine to the CSSR expressed his hope that Czechoslovakia will contribute to the international endeavor to turn the idea of dialogue between Israel and the PLO into reality by preparing an international conference on the Middle East. This will enable the Palestinian people to decide their own fate and to achieve national independence, and will guarantee security and an independent existence to all Middle East states.

Peres Holds News Conference in Prague

AU2401121390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Vaclav Bervida report: "Apropos CSSR-Israeli Relations; News Conference"]

[Text] Within the framework of a joint news conference at the Ministry of Finance on Monday [22 January] evening, Vaclav Klaus and Sim'on Peres, as a result of their talks, signed a memorandum on agreement.

Possible spheres for economic cooperation are specified in the document: agriculture, energy, health care, transport and communications, electronics, and tourism; banking and financial cooperation is envisaged.

As S. Peres confirmed, CSSR President Vaclav Havel has been invited to Israel and Vaclav Klaus will also pay a visit there. He declared that the resumption of diplomatic ties is a matter of several weeks.

The Israeli guest stated that Czechoslovakia may become a kind of agent for the exchange of views and for meetings. According to him, our country can help the peace process in the Middle East in many ways. Already—as Vaclav Havel said—it is withdrawing from the world trade in weapons and, instead, will begin to export goodwill considering its good relations with the Arab states and Israel, he said.

S. Peres denied that he would meet with Palestinian representatives in Prague. He expressed his desire for a peaceful solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict in spite of the fact that this has now taken on a violent character. Sim'on Peres spoke optimistically about the prospects for Israel's direct negotiations with Palestinian representatives, with American and Egyptian assistance, on preparing elections on the West Bank of the Jordan and on the Gaza Strip. The best Palestinian delegation will be one that the Palestinian people will elect, he said. After the news conference, he told RUDE PRAVO that only two barriers on the road to these talks only have to be removed—the composition of the Palestinian delegation and the agenda for the talks.

He also expressed the view that, in light of the prospects for bilateral talks, an international conference on peace in the Middle East is not necessary today. There is also the handicap here that Israel does not have diplomatic ties with the USSR. However, he added that the renewal of these ties is only a question of time.

Apropos the possibility of cooperation between the Socialist International and left-wing parties in Eastern Europe, which are now striving for a new path, S. Peres said that he will support this cooperation. As soon as socialism becomes democratic there is no reason, according to him, why this should not be the case. He pointed out that social democracy is an endeavor for political and economic democracy.

Dubcek Receives Charter 77 Foundation Officials

LD2501232790 Prague CTK in English 1623 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 25 (CTK)—Chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Alexander Dubcek received chairman of the Charter 77 foundation in Sweden Frantisek Janouch and foundation's sponsor Georg Soros here today.

Alexander Dubcek informed the guests about the current political situation in Czechoslovakia, pointing out that the parliament's task in the near future will be to assure irreversibility of the achieved democratic development and guarantee it by the adoption of new laws. He expressed the interest of Czechoslovakia in its opening up to the world as regards political and economic relations and stressed that new legislative amendments, which will assure inter alia equal position of all kinds of ownership, will also guarantee the necessary protection of foreign investments. Czechoslovak foreign policy will concentrate both on the strengthening of good relations with its neighbours and the development of cooperation with the two great powers, the Soviet Union and the USA, Alexander Dubcek said, adding that Czechoslovakia has prerequisites to become a reliable and equal partner in integrating Europe.

Frantisek Janouch and Georg Soros discussed with Alexander Dubcek possibilities of cooperation of the Charter 77 Foundation with Czechoslovak institutions.

Honecker Taken to Prison After Hospital Discharge

LD2901081490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0758 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The former head of state and Socialist Unity Party of Germany leader Erich Honecker was released from Berlin's Charite Hospital today at 0700. He was taken by the state prosecution and criminal investigation division into investigative custody in Berlin-Rummelsburg prison. This was announced today by Professor Dr. Peter Althaus, director of the Clinic for Urology of Charite Hospital, to newsmen.

From the medical point of view Prof Althaus considered that the patient was not able to be kept in prison. The 77-year-old required medical care after his two serious operations.

Doctor Says 'Unfit' for Prison

LD2901100390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0917 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—According to the doctor treating him, the former state and Socialist Unity Party of Germany leader, Erich Honecker, who was taken to the Berlin-Rummelsburg investigative custody prison from the Berlin Charite hospital this morning at 0700 by representatives of the state prosecutor's office and the criminal investigation department, is unfit for prison conditions. Professor Dr Peter Althaus, director of the clinic and polyclinic for urology in the medical department of the Charite of the Humboldt University of Berlin issued a "medical statement" to journalists this morning.

Professor Dr Wolfgang Vogel, the lawyer charged by Honecker for his defense, will apply for exemption from imprisonment on the basis of the medical statement, Prof Althaus said. [passage omitted]

Prof Althaus announced that the "medical statement" was given to the prosecutor general on 27 January by lawyer Prof Vogel. [passage omitted]

Joachim Herrmann Arrested for High Treason

LD2701102190 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Joachim Herrmann, former member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Politburo, has been arrested. The Attorney General's Office announced that there are inquiries against him for high treason in connection with his responsibility for the former anticonstitutional media policy. An arrest warrant was also issued against former head of planning Gerhard Schuerer. He is accused of criminal abuse of trust.

Former Deputy Prosecutor General Investigated

LD2901083490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0811 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Prosecutor General Dr. Hans-Juergen Joseph has ordered the institution of investigative proceedings against the former first deputy prosecutor general, Karl-Heinrich Borchert, on suspicion of perversion of justice.

Borchert is said to have given instructions after the local government elections in 1989 that reports from citizens connected with electoral fraud should not be examined and processed in accordance with the law.

'Nonpartisan' Caretaker Government Proposed

LD2601192790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1847 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR opposition parties and movements today discussed their participation in the country's government. After hours of debate—some of it controversial—the participants proposed to Prime Minister Hans Modrow the creation of a caretaker government with a "nonpartisan status". The nomination of the candidates for the cabinet which should conduct government business until the elections on 6 May should be done by the roundtable.

This was announced after the meeting in the Berlin House of Democracy by Dr. Wolfgang Ullmann (Democracy Now) and Dr. Ingrid Brandenburg (New Forum) on behalf of the roundtable to the international press tonight. The statement also said that one condition for taking on government responsibility by the opposition parties and movements is that the roundtable will be included in the legislative procedure during the period of office of the caretaker government. This applies in particular to international agreements, laws, and decrees, which has an effect beyond the period of office of the caretaker government. Votes, proposals for changes, and independent legislative initiatives by the roundtable must be addressed by the People's Chamber or the government and taken into account in the decisionmaking process.

Prime Minister Modrow was informed by telephone about the proposal of the opposition parties and movements. It was announced that a meeting with the head of government will take place on Sunday [28 January] to negotiate on the new setup.

Modrow on Future Government, FRG 'Interference'

AU2601220490 Vienna Television Service in German 2100 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Interview with Premier Hans Modrow by Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi in Vienna on 26 January—recorded]

[Text] [Coudenhove-Kalergi] There will soon be a new government, a new coalition government in the GDR. What kind of government do you envisage or desire, a socialist or, let us say, a bourgeois-democratic one?

[Modrow] It should be a government in which all parties and polticial forces that are ready to assume responsiblity for the process of profound democratic developments in the GDR come together. Considering the parties at the roundtable, these are all those forces which are still looking for their image. Thus, I cannot answer your question precisely because I do not yet have a clear view of the wide spectrum of the parties' internal developments and the images promoted by them.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] What is the minimum that you want to save?

[Modrow] The point is not so much what can be saved or what I want to save, but that the people's own ideas are important in the first place. The times of policy-making with the concept of a premier are over, now the time has come to derive a concept for the development of social life also from the consensus of the parties' activities.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] The GDR election campaign has almost acquired a pan-German character. The FRG politicians commit themselves very much. Is this inadmissible interference for you or is this already part of the new reality?

[Modrow] In my opinion, part of it is inadmissible interference in certain fields because the question of self-determination should first be a question for discussion left to GDR. Some start the FRG election campaign early on GDR territory.

On the other hand, it is clear and understandable that a Social Democratic Party which is established and developed in the GDR has relations of partnership with the Social Democratic Party in the FRG. I think that this is a normal process.

SPD Statement on Government Formation

LD2601232190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2207 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The aim of the restructuring of a caretaker government with Premier Hans Modrow is the formation of a cabinet consisting of nonpartisan people, it is emphasized in today's statement from the Socialist Democratic Party [SPD] on the opposition negotiations about participation in the government. The members of this cabinet should suspend their membership in a party or political association up to 6 May. All government members would then no longer be responsible to their parties, but to the roundtable, it says in the document given to ADN this evening. They bear equal responsibility for the period up to 6 May and for the government's stability. The demand that they suspend their membership has been extended to all government members, so that the government's work would not be endangered by the election campaign.

The press spokesman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) in the GDR stated further that the SPD delegation had entered negotiations with the stated intention of not forming a coalition government. The two SPD participants in the negotiations, Markus Meckel and Martin Gutzeit, favored the formation of a roundtable government. The members of this government would be appointed collectively by the parties and political associations represented at the roundtable. The people proposed could be members of a party or political association represented at the roundtable, or be appoined as persons having their confidence.

Modrow, Opposition Begin Talks on Government

LD2801163790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1616 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow has met leading figures from the government and opposition parties in Berlin late this afternoon [28 January]. Representatives of the churches moderating the roundtable are present.

The most important subject of the discussion is forming a caretaker government. Modrow proposed these talks to the roundtable last Monday [22 January]. The opposition agreed on the precondition that a nonparty transitional government be formed.

The considerable presence of press, radio, and television journalists from home and abroad at the Johannishof government hotel testifies to the worldwide interest in the negotiations.

Gysi Comments on Negotiations

LD2801174690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1629 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow (SED-PDS) [Socialist Unity Party of Germany—Party for Democratic Socialism] today met the chairpersons and representatives of the opposition as well as of the block parties for coalition negotiations today in East Berlin. [passage omitted]

The opposition set the condition that a new transitional cabinet has to be nonparty. It also called for Modrow to suspend his party membership. Before the coalition negotations, SED-PDS Chairman Gregor Gysi said that he could imagine Modrow doing this; but then the other ministers would also have to be nonparty.

Gysi sees good chances for agreement on a new government to be reached with the opposition. If this does not happen then the situation will become "much much more complicated." Before the negotiations Modrow said that he is optimistic. However the negotiations' success depends on what work the groups will do. "At the moment everything is still indeterminable," Modrow stated.

Agreement on Government, Elections 18 March

LD2801230590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2248 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Elections to the GDR People's Chamber will take place on 18 March 1990. All opposition parties and groups involved in the roundtable plan to delegate one minister without portfolio in a government of national responsibility. The GDR Government will appoint a minister as government representative for the roundtable. Local elections in towns and communities will take place on 6 May. This has been announced by Senior Church Councillor Martin Ziegler [one of the roundtable moderators] shortly before midnight on the results of the negotiations held by Hans Modrow with the parties and groups of the roundtable.

Modrow Views Talks With Opposition

LD2801232390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2253 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Speaking shortly before midnight, Prime Minister Hans Modrow described the discussions with the parties and groups of the roundtable in Berlin Sunday as a phase of joint responsibility to strengthen democracy in the GDR. The compromise should be assessed in this way, he told the press.

Interim Government 'Not a Nonparty Government'

LD2901000690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2330 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—[Passage omitted] In reply to a journalist's question whether this was now a nonparty government, Martin Ziegler said: "No, it is not a nonparty government." This government of national responsibility, said moderator Monsignor Dr Karl-Heinz Ducke, should be a sign that the aim really is to maintain a viable government and for the government to be supported by everyone, a sign of stability. "You have heard that all groups are ready to enter this government of national responsibility." Proposals are expected this week on this, so that the People's Chamber will be able to decide on it. Names will be given to the head of government by 31 January, Martin Ziegler added. Asked whether Herr Modrow will remain head of government, Dr Ducke replied: "This is the condition for such a government of national responsibility." A suspension of party membership is not a condition. [passage omitted]

Ibrahim Boehme, acting chairman of the Social Democratic Party in the GDR, said, he is satisfied with the results. The opposition will share in guaranteeing stability.

SPD Proposes Holding Early Elections

LD2901091890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0242 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Steffen Reiche, press spokesman for the Social Democratic Party [SPD], conveyed a statement to ADN on Monday morning in which he emphasized that the SPD went into the discussions with Prime Minister Hans Modrow and representatives of the government and opposition parties with the proposal that the parliamentary elections be brought forward. "The view that a situation has arisen over the past few days which could be stabilized neither by the Modrow government, nor by the opposition's participation in the government, was the crucial factor in this. Rather, a government legitimized by elections should take on government responsibility immediately so that far-reaching decisions can be made quickly now." This will enable parliament to create the legal framework for restructuring the GDR at an early date.

People's Chamber Session Opens 29 Jan

LD2901102690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0959 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR People's Chamber met in Berlin on Monday for its 15th session. The start of the session, the proceedings of which are being broadcast by GDR television and radio, each on channel one, was postponed from 1000 [0900 GMT] to 1100 by People's Chamber President Guenther Maleuda on short notice. [passage omitted]

The agenda includes, apart from the first reading of the law on the People's Chamber elections, a briefing and reports from the GDR State prosecutor-general on the state of investigations into the proceedings for corruption and abuse of office and on concluding results of the investigation into the security bodies' actions during the demonstrations in connection with the 40th anniversary of the GDR, as well as a report from the Council of Ministers on the situation in the economy and conclusions for stabilization. [passage omitted]

Modrow Speech on Government

LD2901115790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1042 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The text of the statement by Prime Minister Hans Modrow to the 15th Session of the GDR People's Chamber on Monday is as follows:

Ladies and gentlemen. Please allow me, first of all, to comment on our country's situation in connection with a story which can be found in all the newspapers today. Elections to the People's Chamber have been agreed for 18 March. They are, so much is clear, to be decided on by the People's Chamber itself. At the same time, I would like to state the explanation and proposals about which you alone, within your responsibilty as deputies of this noble House, must decide. They are proposals meant to open up the opportunity to all the citizens of the German Democratic Republic to improve, calm, and stablize our country's situation by free decisionmaking.

In particular, may I point out the following problems: The present government coalition is proving itself to be, as you yourselves know, increasingly fragile. Society's economic and social tensions have increased and already touch the everyday lives of many people. To a growing extent, demands for higher wages and salaries, longer holidays, higher pensions, and other social improvements are being made.

The demands made to date, on their own, would require funds of more than M40 billion. This would be equivalent to about a third of the entire retail trade turnover in the GDR. In this comparison we can already see that these demands far exceed the possibilities open to the state and, if they are granted, will endanger the GDR's existence. In this connection I must point out that the deficit in the state budget is already M17 billion. You already know this situation from the discussions in parliament. The preconditions for comprehensive wage measures and other social payments can only be created by more efficient economic management.

In fact, our economic situation is worsening to a worrying degree, because strikes, limited stoppages, slowdowns, and other disruptions are leading to losses in production. These stoppages have chain reactions for many factories, for supplies to the populace, and for health care. From these arise more social tensions, which can be governed less and less by the existing political structures.

In a number of Kreise, local representative bodies have virtually dissolved or are no longer capable of reaching decisions. The existing local representative bodies do not reflect in every instance the political interests present in the relevant areas, and some of the delegates are not being recognized either. Investigations into election-rigging during the local elections last year are accelerating this process of dismantling local representative bodies. It also leads to uncertainty in the whole state apparatus. State legality and the rule of law are being called more and more into question. Current legal provisions are being violated in the most flagrant way by various interest groups. The protection of the citizens is no longer fully ensured. In this connection, I would like to express thanks and recognition to all members of the People's Police, who are striving to maintain security and order.

In this they deserve the support of all honest citizens, all the parties and political groupings. I would like to thank all those who, being disaffected, began last October to introduce changes in our country, the churches, all those who now call for circumspection and who expect this from all the citizens in the country. The radicalization of the GDR's political scene shows itself in the increasing number of anonymous bomb threats against enterprises, local councils, public establishments, and residential buildings. The necessary evacuation of a children's hospital or of retirement homes is just one of the many signs which indicate the danger of radicalism. There are also actual attacks on citizens, the destruction of home furnishings, and the destruction of social property. Thus, uncertainty is growing among the population. The exodus is continuing unabated. All the government's measures and appeals have so far been unable to stop this bloodletting, which impairs the economic strength to a particular extent, quite apart from the extreme social tragedy linked to this exodus.

This is a brief outline of the situation, an overview of the country's situation, and everyone of you, esteemed deputies, will no doubt be able to add additional facts from his own findings, his own experience, and continue and confirm from his own viewpoint the analytical remarks.

I do not believe that I am dramatizing matters. Instead, I have tried once more to illustrate to you, clearly and succinctly, the present situation in which we find ourselves. Out of this recognition of the situation, and mindful of the responsibility which I as prime minister have taken on with your consent, a discussion with the responsible representatives of all the parties and political groups which form the roundtable took place at my invitation yesterday until midnight.

After 7 hours of intensive discussion, interrupted by two separate consultations, an agreement was reached which seems to offer the best opportunity—at least in the opinion of those involved and in my own opinion—of achieving a calming and gradual stabilization of the political situation and of serving this end.

This agreement consists: 1. In proposing to the People's Chamber that the elections to the People's Chamber be brought forward to 18 March; 2. In proposing that the elections to the representative bodies in all towns and villages be held as planned on 6 May. In this situation, some are also asking whether the elections to the Kreise councils should be included, since the situation in many Kreise probably means that such a demand should be given consideration; 3. Agreement was reached that a government of national responsibility should be created. This can be achieved by having the parties and political groups of the roundtable not yet represented in the government each put forward one representative to enter the government, who will receive a place and vote in the Council of Ministers as a minister without portfolio and will be, further, actively involved in an appropriate way in the Council of Ministers' work, particularly in the preparation of important fundamental decisions. 4. Agreement was reached that the government will send a permanent representative of ministerial rank to the roundtable in order to further deepen cooperation in this way.

I have asked the relevant parties and groups to put forward names by next Wednesday and I should like, if the People's Chamber agrees, to put up for election at the next session of the Chamber the people who will be joining the ranks of my government and who will make it a government of national responsibility in this momentous hour for our country.

Now it is up to you, respected deputies, to give your view on these proposals. I ask you to be sure in your decision that the whole country's citizens are looking to you, the citizens who expect of all of us that order return to the GDR, that state legality be ensured, that daily life not be felt to be a burden, that everyone regain faith in the future.

Please also remember that developments in the GDR are being followed with great attention by all of Europe and even beyond. The countries of Europe expect that the GDR, in its democratic development, will promote the process of European unification.

If we shape a stable GDR and ensure its continuance, we are serving a higher national interest and are creating the preconditions for a treaty-based community and a continuing rapprochement between the two German states, but at the same time we are daily showing ourselves worthy of European responsibility.

We all stand today before the citizens of our country bearing this responsibility, and we should all of us together show ourselves worthy of this responsibility.

Gysi Says Party Giving Up Leadership Claim

LD2701094190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0331 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The debate "to disband or not to disband" must finally end, otherwise the Party of Democratic Socialism will never get around to constructive political work and to solving numerous issues. This was how Party Chairman Gregor Gysi summed up, for the weekend edition of "NEUES DEUTSCHLAND," the opinion of the overwhelming majority of Kreis chairmen and representatives of the Bezirk executives who met in the party building in Berlin yesterday. During this, the executive's proposal of a complete separation from the old party name of Socialist Unity Party of Germany met with strong approval. This is not a matter of fleeing responsibility for past mistakes, but a clear declaration of intent to promote anti-Stalinist renewal much more committedly than before.

At the beginning Gysi unambiguously stated: The party has given up its claim to leadership; we have integrated ourselves into the party spectrum and are presenting our political suggestions to the people for discussion. We no longer intend to return to old positions. We shall accept any election result and are realistically reckoning with a role in opposition.

Gregor Gysi said that with this party executive Presidium, and this is the position of all its members, there will be no disbandment of the party. It is a matter of committedly implementing the resolutions of the extraordinary party congress and the radical renewal of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] into the Party of Democratic Socialism. No one has the right to disband a party with about 1 million members.

According to Gysi, the political situation within the party has become more complicated and exacerbated. The will to reform and restructure at the party's grassroots is in many cases greater than the strength and the zest of many executives to respond to it by specific measures of leadership and orientation concerning content. In the SED-PDS Presidium's view, the consequences are not being considered enough in considering disbandment: "If the party disbands then it is finished. New initiatives on forming a new party need time to organize and years to gain influence, as there will not be material and conceptual help from the West for them."

* SED-PDS Expels Ex-Politburo Members

90EG0124B East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Jan 90 p 3

[Article by Karin Doerre and Frank Herold: "Members of the Former Politburo Expelled from the SED-PDS—Message from the Party's Central Arbitration Commission"]

[Text] On Saturday and Sunday, the Arbitration Commission of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] met in Berlin. The members and candidates of the Politburo elected in 1986 who are still members of the party were invited to the meeting. In accordance with requests by numerous members and basic units of the SED-PDS, the Arbitration Commission had provided them with questions and charges, to which they were supposed to state their position.

The invitees had the opportunity to individually express their opinion on the accusations raised against them and on their political responsibility for the profound crisis in the party and in the country. For each one, the Arbitration Commission passed a separate resolution.

Hans-Joachim Boehme, Horst Dohlus, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Erich Mueckenberger, Margarete Mueller, Gerhard Schuerer, and Werner Walde were expelled from the SED-PDS unanimously, while Werner Jarowinsky, Heinz Kessler, Egon Krenz, Inge Lange, Alfred Neumann, and Guenter Schabowski were expelled by a majority vote.

Without exception, those expelled—some of whom belonged to the former Politburo for decades—bear personal responsibility for the life-threatening crisis in the party and in the country. They contributed substantially to the fact that the former party leadership became increasingly detached from the people and the grass roots of the party, and to the fact that their activity, in clear contrast to the party by-laws, was characterized by subjectivism, egotism, exorbitant praise, glossing over problems, and continual violation of the principle of collectivism.

At the same time, the former members of the Politburo are responsible for the fact that the members of the party were politically incapacitated and totally excluded from decision-making processes within the party, meaning that the entire former SED was subject to ever-increasing bureaucratic centralization and regimentation. They exerted a decisive influence over political life in the GDR in the same manner. Increasingly they avoided direct contact with the people, evaded critical discussion of their policy, and thus deprived themselves of the confidence of our people.

Furthermore, it is their fault that beginning in 1985 the former party leadership, although verbally continuing to speak of the steadfast friendship with the USSR and the CPSU, in fact abandoned this policy, which was visibly reflected not least of all in the ban on Soviet newspapers, magazines, and works of art.

Moreover—as evidenced by the previously published results of the work conducted by the Investigatory Commission formed by the SED-PDS executive committee and numerous other sources of information accessible to the public—several members of the former Politburo enjoyed unjustified privileges. The Arbitration Commission recommends that the executive committee initiate suitable steps to revoke decorations awarded without justification and to examine legal claims for reimbursement.

The invitees declared—with varying degrees of conviction—that they are aware of their political responsibility for the inappropriate policy of the former party leadership. At the same time, they pointed out that they acted out of a misunderstood sense of discipline and on the basis of an attitude, which today they recognize as erroneous, according to which the unity of the party leadership must be preserved even if this meant that some decisions, especially those made by former General Secretary Honecker and Economics Secretary Mittag, appeared wrong from the outset. The Arbitration Commission emphasized that such behavior was in contradiction to the party by-laws and is thus decisively worthy of condemnation, and that the entire former party leadership bears responsibility for the crisis in our country.

The Arbitration Commission determines that Egon Krenz, Siegfried Lorenz, and Guenter Schabowski on several occasions attempted to bring about a change in the Politburo. Ultimately, these efforts fell short due to their inconsistency in engaging in an open and uncompromising confrontation with Erich Honecker, Guenter Mittag, et al, and in mobilizing the grass roots of the party prior to the ninth session of the Central Committee on behalf of a fundamental change in party policy. This hesitation and vacillation contributed to the crisis that forced our people to implement the change in direction in the streets.

Werner Eberlein was unable to take part in the Arbitration Commission consultation since he is undergoing treatment in the hospital. Because of his visit abroad and now his arrest, no statement of position was received from Hermann Axen, so that a decision on him will not be made until the next meeting.

The Arbitration Commission has dealt with applications for rehabilitation and appeals of party punishments. The large number of such applications that are arriving at the Central Arbitration Commission, the arbitration commissions of the bezirk and kreis party organizations, and the party executive committees shows the scale of the injustice that tens of thousands of comrades suffered in the past. A sense of responsibility and justice decrees that each application be handled and decided on individually.

The Arbitration Commission reached decisions on rehabilitating Karl Schirdewan, Dr. Herbert Crueger, Dr. Erwin Guelzow, Hans-Ulrich Herold, Hans Haeber, as well as on applications from 42 other comrades. It heard information on further rehabilitation from arbitration commissions and other party supervision commissions that are still in existence.

The Arbitration Commission resolved that current party proceedings against comrades that were initiated because of their criticism of the previous policy of the SED and of the former leadership should be suspended, insofar as this has not been effected already.

The Central Arbitration Commission determined that in the interest of party renewal and on the basis of the party by-laws adopted at the extraordinary party congress, all party punishments of "censure" and "strong censure" handed down in the past are revoked.

Between Arrogance and Tragedy

Anticipated by the grass roots for some time and demanded in recent days with growing vehemence, the Central Arbitration Commission of the SED-PDS met Saturday morning. The most important point on the agenda was the hearing for former members of the party leadership concerning their responsibility for the profound crisis of the party and of the country. Before that, however, there was an estimable act of redress to people who were victims of Stalinist repression or bureaucratic despotism. Forty-seven comrades were rehabilitated, including 82-year-old Karl Schirdewan, who in 1958 was purported to have engaged in divisive activities during confrontations with Walter Ulbricht.

Just as this small step of expunging guilt is part of the renewal of the party, so too is the fundamental debate concerning the mistakes and omissions of the past in particular. One thing can be said with conviction after the 17-hour session: Not one member of the Arbitration Commission took the easy way out in reaching a decision. Each of the invitees was allowed to state his position in detail, and was questioned matter-of-factly and with admirable patience. At no point were there blanket condemnations; rather, the focus was on determining the exact role of each individual member of the former party leadership in the distortion—even abuse—of the ideals of the workers movement, socialism.

Unworldliness, arrogance, cynicism, a profound lack of understanding for current-day processes, and human tragedy—this was the spectrum occupied by the statements presented. The alternatives were in accordance with the by-laws adopted at the extraordinary party congress: remaining in the party or being expelled.

Utterly incomprehensible are personality developments such as those exhibited by Kurt Hager, Heinz Kessler, Erich Mueckenberger, and Alfred Neumann. They had courageously dedicated their lives to the struggle against fascism, and spared no effort in the building of our country up from the rubble of the Second World War; still, they failed to take action against the ever-widening glossing over of problems and the personality cult surrounding Erich Honecker.

The guilt borne by Werner Jarowinsky and Gerhard Schuerer is a heavy one. They were among the few people who possessed competence and even had plans with respect to the economic questions that are of such great importance to the country; nevertheless, they did not assert themselves when Mittag drove the economy to ruin. The situation with Inge Lange and Margarete Mueller is completely different; in their hearing they admitted almost helplessly that they had been overtaxed by their functions.

Horst Dohlus, actually responsible for compliance with the by-laws, was responsible for the distortion of life within the party, for disciplinary action, and for incapacitating the grass roots of the party.

With his cynicism, Joachim Herrmann strained the patience of the members of the Arbitration Commission—to say nothing of us journalists—almost to an unbearable point. Once again, he tried to revive the lie of comradely cooperation, only then to maintain that he "was concerned most of all" about the deep chasm between reality and its depiction in the media.

Hope that quickly turned into disappointment is associated with the names Egon Krenz and Guenter Schabowski. They were accused of having half-heartedly thrown away the opportunity for a fundamental renewal last fall. Time will tell whether the resolution to leave Siegfried Lorenz in the party was correct.

Even if Egon Krenz appealed the decision by the Arbitration Commission to expel him, observers left the meeting early Sunday morning with the impression that under the chairmanship of Guenther Wieland, decisions were made that all in all were just and democratic.

* SED-PDS Renewal Resolution Published

90EG0124A East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Jan 90 p 3

["Resolution" of the SED-PDS executive committee: "Renewal Must Also Take Place in Each Person Himself"]

[Text] The executive committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] faced a historic question during its 20 January 1990 debate on the dramatically aggravated situation in the country: Does the further existence of this party of democratic renewal in this country damage or serve the interests of our people and stability in Europe?

In this situation, the executive committee could not ignore the fact that not a small part of the population and of party members themselves desire that the SED-PDS be disbanded.

The reason for this is that the SED-PDS is equated with the former SED, which was characterized by Stalinist structures and in the latter years was guided by criminal leadership.

There are at least three reasons that the two parties are equated in this way:

1. The renewing party continues to be burdened by the aforementioned factors of the history of the old SED, while that party's earlier achievements are no longer reflected in the popular awareness.

2. Since the conclusion of the extraordinary party congress, the SED-PDS has been unable to renew itself to such an extent that it has become a completely new party.

3. There are forces that are trying, with all their resources, to prevent the democratic legitimization of the renewing party.

Old SED Can Bring Only Harm

Since the extraordinary party congress clarified that the old SED, with its Stalinist structures, can bring no benefit to our people at present and in the future, but instead can bring only harm, the only question that arises now is whether the party, which is developing into the Party of Democratic Socialism, is needed now and in the future in our social life in the GDR.

This includes the question of whether the SED-PDS is actually willing and able to develop into this Party of Democratic Socialism.

In responding to this question, it is necessary to find criteria that are as objective as possible. The instinctive bond felt by many members towards this party is not enough to answer it in the affirmative. It is also a difficult question to answer because the executive committee of a party cannot take an unbiased approach to the question of its own existence.

If there were already stable, democratic conditions in the GDR, then it would be possible for the answer to be provided exclusively by the citizens when they cast their votes. At present, however, it is important to clarify whether the mere existence of our party would lead to polarization within society and thus contribute to an escalation of tension, and potentially even violence. After long, thorough, and at times controversial debate, the executive committee assumes that disbanding the party cannot reduce polarization within society and the degree of tension already achieved. On the contrary. It would be a fearful situation if polarization were to shift together with an increase in tension, whereby the helplessness and defenselessness felt by individuals would increase. In addition, people and ideas cannot be disbanded, and the executive committee assumes that democratic renewal in the GDR, the treaty association of the two German states within our German nation, and developments towards a united Europe also require strong leftist forces in the political spectrum.

The Party of Democratic Socialism would be an important factor in this leftist spectrum.

If we respond in the affirmative to the question of the need for a Party of Democratic Socialism, then this also demands a response to the question of whether the SED-PDS is capable of developing into such a party through the renewal process.

The motivation for the members of this party can only be the socialist ideal. While career factors may have also played a role previously, that is out of the question now. Precisely here lies one of the major opportunities on the road to a new party.

This opportunity has been inadequately taken advantage of thus far. The pace of renewal is not in keeping with the demands of everyday life.

Even the leadership of the party has made mistakes on the road to renewal. Among other things, this has to do with the fact that nearly every member is still wrapped up in old ways of thinking, even if to varying degrees.

The renewers-Stalinists dichotomy is too simplistic. Renewal must take place in each person himself.

On the other hand, there are also members who are very consciously obstructing the renewal process because they want to preserve or restore Stalinist structures. This is why the presidium had to declare that it has repeatedly encountered serious opposition in its desire to renew. Still, it is important to bear in mind that no illusionary expectations can be set forth with regard to a process that has been under way for exactly 5 weeks. In this sense, it is regrettable that many members who have sincerely pursued renewal are currently leaving the party simply because the process cannot be completed in such a short period of time.

Urgent Steps and Signals Needed

We ask our members to reckon with difficulties and contradictions and to stubbornly struggle for renewal at all levels of the party. We cannot become discouraged too quickly.

In our view, the following urgent steps and signals are necessary in order to develop into a new party:

1. The arbitration commissions on all levels should rapidly ensure the expulsion of members of the party who in the past violated criminal laws or distinguished themselves through their reckless disciplining of people of a different mind, both inside and outside the party.

The processes of rehabilitation should be rigorously continued.

2. The party's executive committee, as well as the bezirk and kreis executive committees, must, by way of commission decisions, quickly part with any political employees who because of their political past are limiting the credibility of the renewal process, or through their current behavior are holding up the pace of renewal.

In this regard, thanks should be expressed openly towards those full-time political employees and the technical forces who have taken on the new tasks in recent weeks with great intensity.

Further Reduction of the Apparatus

The reduction in the number of full-time employees must be rigorously continued. Where it is necessary to hire new people, attention should be given to competence and political commitment to the goals of democratic socialism as a requirement, while membership in the party is not necessarily a precondition.

3. With respect to party enterprises, the proposal by the presidium of 13 January 1990 is affirmed on the condition that a transfer is possible not only to national ownership, but also to cooperative ownership, if desired by the personnel.

Insofar as property is transferred to national ownership, it is recommended that the government make it possible for other parties, movements, organizations, and associations to transfer trusteeship.

This applies accordingly to convalescent homes and guest houses.

To expand on the presidium proposal of 13 January 1990, the party enterprises named there without a decision recommendation (other publishing houses and special enterprises of Zentrag and organization-owned publishing houses), with the exception of Dietz Verlag and the Publishing House for Visual Aids, should also be transferred to collective or national ownership.

Because of the declining number of full-time employees, party buildings are no longer needed on the previous scale. The kreis and bezirk executive committees are authorized to independently make decisions about the future use of such buildings or parts of buildings, whereby the emphasis should be on solving problems in health care and social services, resolving local questions, and use by other parties and movements that lack adequate space. In making these decisions, it should be kept in mind that our party in the future will also need space for the unpaid activity of party cells, in particular to hold member meetings, training courses, and so on.

Symbol and Insignia Scrapped

The Finance Department of the former Central Committee is instructed to submit the 1989 annual statement, following inspection by the Arbitration Commission and a listing of the available financial assets—and with due regard for the decisions noted above—no later than 31 January 1990. The party's executive committee plans to make part of that amount available for health care and social services, for cultural institutions, and for environmental projects.

Another part of the assets should be used, in accordance with the applicable legal provisions, for social support of departing employees, including providing for old-age care insofar as contributions were paid in for that.

Special funds should be formed to cover expenses and create a necessary reserve.

5. The previous symbol of the party, and thus the insignia as well, is scrapped.

The executive committee and presidium will regularly assess the progress that has been made in implementing these resolutions and determine further steps.

Work on our party's program must be continued at a rapid pace. Statements relating to the program must be in keeping with the goals of the new party. The representatives of the various platforms are asked to participate in the structuring of the unified party program. We need consensus on the program.

The commissions of the party's executive committee are instructed to disseminate our party's policy initiatives on all important questions of social life more quickly, intelligibly, and regularly. Of particular significance at the moment are our ideas on economic policy, on agricultural policy, on immediate economic measures, on safeguarding social security and full employment in our country, and on the cultural identity of the GDR.

By the time of the next party congress, which may be moved up, we should have achieved a degree of renewal that will permit us to bear the name Party of Democratic Socialism alone, meaning that we will be a new party.

Office for National Security Should Be Disbanded by 30 June

From the judicial organs, the executive committee expects that the proceedings against the members of the former party and state leadership be accelerated and that the public be continually informed about this.

The disbanding of the Office for National Security should be concluded under civilian control ahead of time, no later than on 30 June 1990.

In the current phase, the main emphasis for the party is renewal and consolidation, not the election campaign. We declare unambiguously to the people of the GDR: We have no interest whatsoever in polarization among our population, and will democratically accept the political responsibility imposed on us by the voters in the first free, democratic, and secret elections.

We ask the other parties and movements, for the sake of stability in the GDR, the German nation, and Europe, to attentively and critically follow our renewal process, but not to wage a battle against our existence.

In order to evaluate today's executive committee meeting, a consultation with the bezirk and kreis chairmen will be held on Friday, 26 January 1990.

(This resolution by the executive committee was adopted by a vote of 80 to 2, with 7 abstentions.)

Parties May Receive Aid From Abroad

LD2901122690 Hamburg DPA in German 1207 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—According to the new GDR electoral law, political parties and associations no longer are to be prohibited from accepting material and financial support from other states. The originally intended ban on accepting such aid had met with vehment protests from the public. As a result, the relevant paragraph was struck from the document of the electoral commission, with the Peasant's Party voting against and two other groups abstaining. Thus it is no longer contained in the draft electoral law, which had its first reading in parliament today. The draft is to be published tomorrow, Liberal Democratic Party Deputy Paul Eberle announced. [passage omitted]

New Forum Holds National Congress

Reich Addresses Congress

LD2701151690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1231 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The national delegate conference of New Forum this morning opened at the Academy of Arts in Berlin. The task of the 2-day meeting for the 270 delegates entitled to vote from the GDR's Kreise and bezirke is to decide on the citizens' movement's program and statute.

At the beginning, Professor Jens Reich pointed to the public's expectation that New Forum "would now grow up." The "romantic phase of the revolution" is now over. Since 9 November, hard everyday life and the reappraisal of the past has begun. The movement has shown political maturity, has made mistakes, and has become a respected political factor at home and abroad.

"We leaped into the cold water as political non-swimmers and have coped immaculately." In the meantime, nationwide structures had been created, he stated. However, they have talked too much about form and too little about content.

Now New Forum must become effective as a political organization at the roundtable and possibly in the government, as a participant in the elections. An electoral program must emerge from the drafts of the 2-day founding conference of the program, and the statute must be discussed. He stessed that the movement should not rely on outside help. "We grew here—we have to win through here."

About New Forum's image of itself, Reich said that it was a matter of creating a new openess in building the new society, building from below. The emphasis is on local politics. New Forum wants direct politics and democracy conveyed by the public exchange of opinions. It is a matter of the citizen's opportunity to intervene in political decisions.

He believes in the common sense of the people, who were by no means made up only of anarchic persons. He is concerned with political arguments, not ready-made stanzas. Categories such as right, left, Green, are not the only way to differentiate people.

Moreover, these descriptions are inaccurate in the GDR. It is not a case of imitating the FRG's political landscape but of developing the political culture of the 21st century.

Reich spoke in favor of discussing political issues without ideology and rejected "comic strip balloons." As for the country's situation, he said that in view of the fact that thousands of people are still leaving the GDR, New Forum has still not fulfilled its tasks. Only when they have helped to reform the economy will this be possible. The goals of the breakthrough begun in 1989 have by no means been fulfilled.

During the opening session, the delegates welcomed guests from Berlin (West), the FRG, Bulgaria, Britain, Romania, and the USSR. Petra Kelly and Gert Bastian of the FRG were among those who gave greetings addresses to the founding conference.

During the conference, renewed discussion is expected on the issue of whether New Forum should remain an association or constitute itself as a party. On the first day of the 2-day meeting, the National Spokesmen's Council is to be re-elected. The democratic opposition movement, founded on 9 September 1989 and authorized on 8 November 1989, has about 100,000 members nationally.

Government Reshuffle Urged

LD2701193490 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] In view of the crisis situation in the GDR, New Forum has called for the government to be reshuffled as soon as possible. This standpoint would be represented at tomorrow's talks with Premier Modrow, spokesman Ingrid (?Koeppe) told the radio's news staff on the sidelines of the movement's founding congress in Berlin. New Forum is prepared to cooperate and could name competent people to be involved. But it must be clear that the rights of this transitional government are restricted and that it consists of people who suspend their party membership. Under these circumstances Modrow would be accepted as head of government. The controversial debate on New Forum's program is continuing at the founding congress.

Party Formation Opposed

LD2701195290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1852 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The founding congress of New Forum, held in Berlin today, came out against transforming itself into a party. The New Forum is a political platform for all citizens, who, irrespective of party, are seeking a consistent, grass-roots-based democratization of society, state the program points confirmed by the national delegates' conference.

The New Forum founding congress failed to get further than the discussion of the program statement by the evening of the 1st day of debate. [passage omitted]

Program Statement Accepted

LD2801140590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1350 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The 257 delegates of New Forum, who are entitled to vote, accepted a program statement at their constituent conference in Berlin today after 2 days of discussion. A total of 176 voted for it and 77 against. Four delegates abstained.

Roundtable Delegates Leave Plenum

LD2801133590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1307 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)— Shortly before the end of the New Forum national conference, the members supporting the citizens' movement spokespersons at the roundtable, Ingrid Koeppe and Reinhard Schult, left the plenum. The conference adjourned for 15 minutes.

Reinhard Schult, New Forum representative at the roundtable, had said a short time before that he could recognize a break between those people who, as entrepreneurs, were striving towards 19th century capitalism, and those who wanted a new perspective for the GDR.

He condemned the right-wing's intolerance and said he is part of the solidarity/emancipatory direction which aims at socially- oriented development. Today he no longer sees any difference between New Forum and other GDR parties, and he no longer feels able to negotiate with the government at the roundtable.

In contrast to the parties, other speakers said the citizens' movement should be social-democratic, liberal, Christian-social, and Green-ecological, in order to bring to the fore, alongside the parties, such civic interests.

Several speakers in the discussion said that there were signs of a polarization between strong right-wing forces and Greens/alternatives. It was also criticized that the sought after program statement had taken on too much the character of a party program.

Roundtable Representatives Named

LD2801164290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1606 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—New Forum representatives Heiko Lietz and Werner Schulz and alternates Ingrid Koeppe and Reinhard Schult will take part in the roundtable. This was stated this afternoon [28 January] at the constituent conference of the citizens' movement. In addition Schult announced that a special congress of New Forum's left wing is to take place in Berlin in 2 weeks. The overwhelming majority of the delegates agreed that New Forum should work within the government. "Under certain conditions New Forum is prepared to cooperate with the government to get to 6 May," Professor Jens Reich said on this subject.

The proposal to draw up a joint action program with the opposition also met with agreement. Local elections should take place "very early." Spheres in which New Forum representatives offered their cooperation were named as domestic and security policy, the economy, in particular energy and environmental policy, justice, and the state prosecutor's office. [passage omitted]

Roundtable Opens 10th Session

LD2901083990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0821 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The 10th session of the GDR roundtable opened in Berlin today with a report on the results of the meeting between Prime Minister Modrow and the parties and groupings represented at the roundtable late last night. According to the agenda the representatives of parties, political groupings, and organizations will be dealing at their 10th session above all with ecological questions, as well as thoughts about a new GDR Constitution and the public work of the roundtable.

Environment Minister Dr. Peter Diederich and other government representatives will be giving detailed explanations on the subject of the ecology.

Discusses Ecology, Nuclear Safety

LD2901120490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1035 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The representatives of the parties and groupings present at the roundtable in Berlin on Monday discussed issues of the ecology in the GDR as the first item on the agenda.

Environment Minister Dr Peter Diederich said that in order to reduce the environmental pollution in the GDR a fundamentally changed ecology policy was needed. His ministry would be a virtual environment authority. [passage omitted]

A different structural and energy policy is needed. The primary means for a future ecology-friendly industry consists in turning away from raw materials and energy-intensive products to higher processed products in a radically changed structure of the national economy and foreign trade. [passage omitted]

Higher payments and investments for environmental protection projects, particularly for the Leipzig and Dresden regions, are earmarked in the plan for 1990.

The construction of new nuclear power stations may not be expected in the foreseeable future, Prof Dr Karl-Hermann Steinberg, deputy minister of heavy industry, said in reply to questions from roundtable representatives. The 70 megawatt reactor in Rheinsberg is to be decommissioned in 1992. The final construction stage of the Nord nuclear power station, with a total of eight blocks of 440 megawatts each, will be continued gradually, according to the minister. The blocks still to be commissioned will be equipped to Western safety standards. In Stendal, four blocks of 1000 megawatts each are to be commissioned gradually. [passage omitted]

German Forum Party Founding Congress Opens

LD2701104590 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] The founding congress of the German Forum Party [DFP] began in Karl-Marx-Stadt this morning. The program and constitution are being debated. Apart from this the election of a chairman and a national executive are on the agenda. According to a spokesman for the initiative group, the party sees itself as belonging to the center. It supports a social market economy, German unification, and legal, administrative, and tax reform.

At the same time the national delegate conference of new Forum met in Berlin. Here rapprochement between the GDR and the FRG on the basis of two states is favored.

Gerlach Speaks in W. Berlin on LDPD Role

LD2701192690 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] According to Chairman Manfred Gerlach, the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD] intends to continue to bear government responsibility until 6 May. The country's crisis must not be allowed to lead to a collapse, Gerlach said today at a Free Democratic Party [FDP] event in Berlin (West). He regards it as possible that the Social Democratic Party will develop as the strongest force in the GDR. For the Liberal Democrats this means that they must create a distinctive image. In this connection Gerlach urged support from the FDP in the FRG. He recommended to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism that it go into opposition after the elections.

Journalists Association Expels 5 Members

LD2601144190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1347 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The extraordinary congress of the Journalists' Association (VDJ) today expelled those who to a large extent were responsible for the GDR's previous information policy. The delegates voted in favor of the expulsion of Joachim Herrmann, Heinz Geggel, Dieter Langguth, Kurt Blecha, and Eberhard Fensch. The national executive and the bezirk [areas] associations are to decide on the expulsion of more individuals.

Government Changes Resolution on Control of ADN

LD2901114790 Hamburg DPA in German 1121 GMT 29 Jan o0

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—According to the opposition and block parties, the GDR Government has changed without consultation a draft resolution passed at the roundtable on the guaranteeing of freedom of opinion, information, and media, and has taken the news agency ADN out of the draft law as an institution still belonging to the government. In place of the original the following was added: "ADN will remain a government institution. This does not rule out the founding of other agencies." The roundtable expressed the expectation that the People's Chamber will pass the roundtable resolution in its original form.

Official Denies Radioactive Leaks

LD2801164690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1604 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—No impermissible radiation or release of radioactive material into the environment took place during past "extraordinary events and malfunctionings" in GDR nuclear power stations. This was announced by the State Office for Nuclear Safety and Radiation protection to ADN on Sunday [28 January]. In each case measures for preventing a recurrence were taken. The events involved mistakes or operational malfunctioning which were noticed as a result of the monitoring of operational parameters such as pressure, temperature, radioactivity, and others, as well as the regularly carried-out checks of plants and materials or checks as a result of analyzing the malfunctions in other countries' nuclear power stations.

As part of the cooperation in safety checks of the blocks in use at the Greifswald nuclear power station (Rostock Bezirk) agreed during the visit by FRG Environment Minister Toepfer, which have already been introduced, all past events are being reinvestigated. The GDR's competent authorities are in the process of preparing for publication a scientific-technological picture of the safety aspects of relevant events. [passage omitted]

Spokesman on Conventional Forces Reduction

LD2901122390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1138 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Government has a far-reaching interest in the reduction of military confrontation in central Europe through the mutual reduction of forces and arms. This was contained in a statement by Government Spokesman Wolfgang Meyer sent to ADN on Monday.

The GDR Government unreservedly supports the USSR proposal to withdraw the forces of all states from foreign territories by the year 2000. As far as the stationing of Soviet troops (Western group) on the GDR's territory is concerned, this is a direct result of World War II laid down by Allied agreements. The same applies to the stationing of Western forces in the FRG's territory. The development of two sovereign German states, the government spokesman said, did not remove the right to station troops. The specific arrangements (stationing treaties) were agreed on between the GDR and the USSR and between the FRG and the three Western powers. Hence, in order to dissolve the agreements and the four-power rights and responsibilities, what is needed is both four-sided decisions by the major powers and treaty-based agreements with the states where the troops are deployed.

The status of the Soviet troops on the GDR's territory thus is fundamentally different from that of the troops in Hungary (Southern group) and in the CSSR (Central group). The troops are in those countries as a result of the events of 1956 and 1968 and as a result of the bilateral agreements and alliance accords concluded in connection with them.

The GDR, the government spokesman went on, is working actively in Vienna toward an agreement on drastic reductions in conventional forces in Europe before the end of 1990. If the proposed reductions are carried out, this will include the further withdrawal of Soviet forces and their arms from the GDR's territory and those of other major powers from the FRG's territory, too. This should be followed immediately, in the

GDR's view, by further agreements (Vienna II) on even deeper cuts in the military potentials of the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

Protest Against Compulsory Military Service

LD2901113890 Hamburg DPA in German 1106 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] [no dateline as received]—Before the start of the GDR parliament's deliberations, the People's Chamber was closed off. Only vehicles with special authorization could enter the large parking lot in front of the Palace of the Republic, the seat of the People's Chamber. In order to avoid protests like those at the last session, when protesting taxi drivers and others paralyzed traffic and shrouded the building in a stinking cloud of exhaust fumes, the cordoning-off was announced in advance.

Opposite the bulding some young GDR citizens protested in favor of a new law on civilian service. Banners said "An example of Europe—GDR without compulsory service", "Civilian service is not punishment service", and "A constitution without conscription for the future."

Defense Minister on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

LD2801181190 Budapest MTI in English 1634 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 28 (MTI)—Minister of Defence Ferenc Karpati discussed the possibility of withdrawing the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary in an interview with the Budapest weekly political newspaper VASARNAPI HIREK (SUNDAY NEWS). The minister of defence said that the number of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary is somewhat less than 50,000.

"Under the terms of the agreement between the Hungarian and the Soviet prime ministers, talks are to open on the theme next week. From the Hungarian side, the talks will be attended by Ferenc Somogyi, secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry, and Lieutenant General Laszlo Borsits, chief of staff. The Soviet delegation will include Deputy Foreign Ministry Ivan Aboimov, and Colonel General Bronislav Omelichev, deputy chief of staff. These talks will lead to the final agreement on the soonest possible end to the Soviet troop withdrawal. Our geographical situation also makes the complete pull-out of Soviet troops possible without this lessening the security of Hungary, and the security of the entire Warsaw Treaty.

"This process shall not disturb the power balance, and will take into consideration the Vienna talks. It will not affect our membership in the Warsaw Treaty, and we shall continue to strive to modernize and democratize this organization," the minister of defence said.

MTI Claims 1,600 Deaths in Azerbaijan

LD2501100190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] According to reports, the night was relatively calm in the Azerbaijan capital, after the Soviet Navy yesterday brought an end to the port's blockade. According to information received from MTI, there have been more than 1,600 deaths in the fighting during the past days. The Azerbaijan Foreign Ministry knows of far fewer [deaths] than this.

CSSR President Havel Winds Up Visit

Addresses National Assembly

AU2601125890 Budapest Television in Hungarian 1030 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Speech by CSSR President Vaclav Havel in the National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Chairman, esteemed Mr President, esteemed Deputies,

I feel greatly honored to be able to greet you in your beautiful parliament, which I have known only from photographs before. I have been here for only two minutes but the atmosphere in this hall reminds me of a real parliament. I firmly believe that our parliament, too, will very soon become an authentic parliament. I am looking forward to having a strong and intelligent opposition to me; I am also looking forward to having billboards which measure the length of every deputy's speech [laughter].

I am also looking forward to having a clock. I have already had an opportunity to address our parliament, and in this address I mentioned that in my offices at Prague Castle I had not found a single clock. Nor did I see a clock in the parliament hall. My explanation was that time had stood still in our country and there was no need for any clocks [laughter, applause]. A few weeks ago history returned to our country. We will soon install clocks in our offices, too.

In conclusion I would like to say in at least one sentence the purpose of my visit to your country. The purpose is the same as that of our visit to Poland yesterday—to negotiate very quickly, calmly, and in a businesslike manner about the coordination of our countries' return to Europe.

Thank you for your attention. I will not hold up your deliberations any longer. I wish you success in your deliberations.

I would like to ask you, as representatives of the Hungarian people, to convey my greetings to your people. [applause]

Meets Opposition Representatives

LD2601191190 Budapest MTI in English 1835 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 26 (MTI)—On Friday [26 January] afternoon, Vaclav Havel met with representatives of opposition parties and organizations: the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Alliance of Free Democrats, the Independent Smallholders' Party, the Christian Democratic People's Party, the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, the Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Society, the Hungarian People's Party, the Federation of Young Democrats, the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions, and the Workers' Solidarity Federation.

By way of introduction to the joint discussions, Havel said that as a citizen he may favour one or another party better than the others, but not as president.

Havel, Szuros on European Cooperation

LD2601165790 Budapest MTI in English 1511 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 26 (MTI)—Vaclav Havel, president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and his host Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, held talks in the parliament building, Budapest, on Thursday.

Hungary was represented at the meeting by Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy, Deputy Foreign Minister Imre Szokai, and Csaba Tabajdi, head of the Secretariat of the Council of Minister's College of National and Ethnic Minorities. Mr Havel was accompanied by Jan Carnogursky, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, as well as Sasa Vondra, Jiri Krizan and Milan Knazko, presidential advisors.

The two politicians discussed how they see the possibilities for regional cooperation and the prospects of relations in central and Eastern Europe and Europe as a whole.

Mr Havel stressed that Czechoslovakia views Hungary and Poland not merely as two of its neighbours, but follows with increased attention the reform endeavours there. All three countries are guided by the intention of finding a way of catching up with Europe and renewing their social life.

The Czechoslovak position is that all moves in this direction should be collated by the concerned countries. To this end, Vaclav Havel invited Matyas Szuros for a Czechoslovak-Polish-Hungarian presidential "summit meeting" in Bratislava in late March. Mr Havel said it would also be useful to invite the Austrian and Italian foreign ministers to the conference.

Mr Szuros, who accepted the invitation, drew attention to the fact that the quadrilateral cooperation between Austria, Hungary, Italy and Yugoslavia had already laid the foundations for regional cooperation, and called it desirable for Czechoslovakia to consider joining it.

Vaclav Havel informed Matyas Szuros of his forthcoming trip to the Soviet Union for a consultation about Czechoslovak ideas of renewing the forms of bilateral cooperation. Another aim of the visit would be for the Soviet leadership not to feel excluded from the East European events.

In connection with bilateral links between Hungary and Czechoslovakia, Matyas Szuros proposed the two Foreign Ministries should be commissioned to prepare a declaration of good-neighbourly relations including concepts of how to place bilateral contacts on a new basis.

Concerning the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric dam project, Matyas Szuros repeatedly emphasized that the Hungarian Government had made steps towards abrogating the contract on the Nagymaros barrage. Besides, Hungary proposes that the government-level conference about the Gabcikovo facilities be held only after the expert consultations. In the view of Matyas Szuros, final decision on the project will not be due before the Hungarian elections.

The Czechoslovak negotiating partners said they had arrived at the conclusion that the dam was detrimental for the environment, and they would shortly move to examine how the already complete facilities could still be used to economic advantage.

Discussing the position of the Hungarian and Slovak minorities, Matyas Szuros said it would be useful to survey the disadvantages which affected Czechoslovakia's Hungarian population after the World War, and to consider possible ways for remedy. Matyas Szuros also raised the idea of setting up a Hungarian university in Komarno, and Vaclav Havel assured the idea of his support. Moreover, Szuros proposed the establishment of an Institute of Hungarian Studies in Czechoslovakia.

More on Havel Activities, Talks

LD2601115790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] Following his visit to Poland, today the Czechoslovak head of state began his official visit to Hungary. Peter Nyarady reports on Vaclav Havel's negotiations in Hungary.

[Nyarady] Early this morning, Vaclav Havel received Mrs Robert Jakab, deputy speaker of the National Assembly, who is also one of the highest ranking representatives of the Slovak national minority living in our homeland. During their discussions, they stated that the situation of the Slovaks in Hungary was good, but it could be improved, especially the school system's condition. The situation of the Slovaks living here was pronounced as appropriate by the Czechoslovak side.

Then followed the ceremonial reception at Kossuth Square, where, after the usual national anthems and ceremony, Matyas Szuros welcomed the guest. Let me remark that Vaclav Havel, who is not a great fan of ceremonies, did perhaps enjoy the fact that they were able to return to the negotiation room where he spoke with our interim President Matyas Szuros for about an hour.

They discussed the issue of Bos-Nagymaros, in which the Czechoslovak standpoint has—even if only to a small degree—moved in the direction, yet again, that the Bos part of the hydropower complex cannot be dismantled. Since it cannot be used for anything but production of electricity, the plant must operate.

The nationality issue has again surfaced, naturally. However, this time it was the case of the Magyars living in Czechoslovakia. The sides stated that the present opportunity must be used for guaranteeing the rights of Hungarians living there in a more regular manner than hitherto and in a constitutional way.

The Czechoslovak president, after ending his talk with Matyas Szuros, addressed the deputies in a parliamentary session. The speech has been reported on by Budapest radio's parliamentary correspondents.

Later, Havel met Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth. Then he went to Hero's Square, where he laid a wreath.

Havel Comments at News Conference

LD2601233990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2130 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] At the end of his official working visit to the Hungarian Republic, Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel answered questions asked of him by journalists at a news conference. Tomas Borec, our resident correspondent in Budapest, has more details as well as recordings of the answers given.

[Borec, in Slovak] At the start of the news conference, acting Hungarian President Matyas Szuros highly appreciated the fact that Hungary is among the first countries President Vaclav Havel has visited, thereby making clear his attitude toward Czechoslovakia's southern neighbor. We have agreed, Matyas Szueros said, to instruct our Foreign Ministries to work out a good neighbors' declaration, which we will ratify at an appropriate time and at the highest level.

Asked whether the Czechoslovak president sees the possibility of a creation of a Central European community of a new type based on the fact that both Czechoslovakia and Hungary did away with the system of a ruling party and are striving to bring about the withdrawal of Soviet troops, Vaclav Havel replied:

[Begin Havel recording] Naturally we talked about these matters broadly, not only here in Hungary but also in Poland yesterday, as well as previously in Prague, both with our visitors as well as among ourselves. One thing appears to be certain and that is that our countries, which up until recently were Soviet satellites and are ridding themselves of the totalitarian system and seeking a road to democracy, while at the same time seeking a road back to Europe, should coordinate their steps. This was also the reason why we have visited Poland and Hungary so soon and discussed these matters.

There is no time for me to reproduce the whole content of our talks, but I will mention one thing. As part of a Czechoslovak initiative we want to hold a 1-day working meeting between the state representatives of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary in Bratislava Castle in the 1st half of April, as well as of representatives of the public from various intitiatives, the opposition, and the like. We want to ask Austrian Foreign Minister Mock, Italian Foreign Minister de Michelis, and the Yugoslav foreign minister to attend the meeting. The purpose of this meeting will be to talk calmly and in greater detail not only about the coordination of our course back to Europe, but also about the question as to what kind of Europe we want to return and about the international context of this return and its economic aspects, including the future of CEMA; this meeting should have a kind of a wider Central European aspect, and this is why we want to invite to it the aforementioned foreign ministers. This meeting is not aimed against any other existing and forming communities or against any country's bilateral relations with anyone else. It is not exclusive in any way. On the contrary, it will be augmented by way of an invitation, which has been conveyed to me by the president inviting Czechoslovakia to the Danube and Adriatic community. Czechoslovakia has accepted this invitation and, at the same time, along with Poland, it has created a certain other initiative which should be some kind of northern non-Baltic analogy of this community. Czechoslovakia could be some kind of a link between both these open communities to which it is somewhat predetermined by its geographic position in the very heart of Europe. [end recording]

[Borec] Also interesting was the view that despite efforts at integration, what we are seeing for the time being is disintegration and customs wars between our countries. The Czechoslovak president had this to say on this subject:

[Begin Havel recording] We spoke in detail about this matter—in greater detail, probably, in Poland than in Hungary. It seems to me that if we are renewing economic relations based on a market economy in our three countries, we must also build natural economic relations between our countries based on mutual advantage, real advantage, and which also came within the framework of a kind of coordinated approach toward the rest of the world, so to speak. [end recording]

[Borec] The journalists were also interested in matters of the two countries' ethnic minorities. Asked by Hungarian television why Hungarians living in Czechoslovakia are not going to get a ministry for their own nationality, while the government says it wants to give them more rights, the Czechoslovak president answered as follows:

[Begin Havel recording] There is clearly some shortage of information on Hungarian television, because we are not rejecting that idea. On the contrary, we want to set up a federal ministry for ethnic questions or a state committee for ethnic questions. We have already spoken about this at the roundtable when the government of national understanding was coming into being. It should be an organ with executive power, a federal organ, which will deal not only with the question of the minority nationalities but also of various ethnic groups, and if it still has not come about, if it still has not been set up, then it is because the existing Czechoslovak Constitution is so strange that establishing a new ministry requires a change in the Constitution and, therefore, it requires a special constitutional law, and the Federal Assembly is passing new constitutional laws all the time. I myself pointed out in my speech there a couple of days ago that such a constitutional law should also be adopted, but if we want to be a state based on the rule of law, we must respect certain legislative procedures. We can speed up these procedures as much as possible, but in the final analysis you cannot pass a new constitutional law every day just like that. [end recording]

More on News Conference, Departure

LD2601221390 Budapest MTI in English 1930 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 26 (MTI)—Concluding his less than 24-hour visit to Budapest, Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel held a joint press conference on Friday in parliament with his host, Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary.

Mr Szuros highly appreciated the fact that Hungary was one of the first countries to be visited by President Havel. The sides agreed that the Foreign Ministries of the two countries should be authorized to work out a joint declaration which would cover the entire scope of bilateral relations.

Discussions were also held about the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage, and the issue was approached in a new spirit, with the positions considerably nearing to each other.

The issue of the minorities was also discussed in a new spirit, that of democracy, humanism and human rights. Mr Szuros termed the Budapest visit of Mr Havel to be a new starting point, and noted that it elevated the good neighbourly relation and cooperation to a new and higher level.

The need to coordinate the processes related to successfully coming abreast of Europe, and the reform efforts, was one of the main motives of my visits to Poland and Hungary, said Vaclav Havel, answering questions at the press conference.

Both his Polish and Hungarian hosts favourably received Mr Havel's initiative on holding a trilateral summit in Bratislava in April. Representatives of the Civic Movements, and of the opposition, and the Austrian, Italian and Yugoslav foreign ministers who, in all probability, are interested in regional cooperation, would be invited to the conference. The main aim of the meeting would be for the participants to try to outline the road that would lead the East European region back to Europe.

Mr Havel said Czechoslovakia was considering to set up a ministry, or a committee, to handle the minority issues. Mr Szuros added the Hungarian side had asked the Czechoslovak leaders to examine how the "collective lack of rights" of the Hungarians in Slovakia that came about after the Second World War could be fully eliminated. This is of particular moral and political significance with respect to the future of cooperation. Mr Havel added to this that he supports the enforcement of collective rights, and firmly opposes the principle of collective guilt.

The press conference was the final event of Vaclav Havel's programme in Hungary. The Czechoslovak president left Budapest in the evening hours.

Pozsgay Makes Official Visit to Israel

Statement Before Visit

LD2601143590 Budapest MTI in English 1334 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 26, 1990—Minister of State Imre Pozsgay is to begin a six-day official visit to Israel on Sunday at the invitation of Shim'on Peres, Israeli deputy prime minister and minister of finance.

In a statement to ECONEWS Mr Pozsgay said that both he and his Israeli partners attach great importance both to economic and to political negotiations.

The Hungarian minister of state is due to meet all of the Israel's leading politicians and will have talks with Moshe Shahal, Israeli minister of energy and infrastructure on Sunday to follow up exploratory talks Mr Shahal had in Hungary in August last year when the Israelis showed interest in Hungarian power development projects, particularly the Heller-Forgo cooling system.

Mr Pozsgay's plans also include a visit to an Israeli aircraft factory. According to unconfirmed reports, talks are going on between Malev Hungarian Airlines and an Israeli aircraft manufacturer on some form of cooperation as yet undisclosed.

Departure from Hungary

LD2801113490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Minister of State Imre Pozsgay has left for Israel, at the invitation of Shim'on Peres, deputy premier and finance minister. The Hungarian politician will hold talks about the development of relations between the two countries and will meet representatives of ethnic Hungarian Israelis, too.

Interview En Route

LD2801200690 Budapest MTI in English 1630 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Tel Aviv, January 28 (MTI)—Imre Pozsgay arrived in Israel for an official visit on Sunday. The minister of state of the Hungarian Government is meeting an invitation from Deputy Prime Minister Shi'mon Peres.

Pozsgay gave an interview to MTI during the flight to Israel. He said his visit alike serves inter-state and inter-party relations. In answer to the question whether the trip is part of the election campaign of the Hungarian Socialist Party, perhaps in the way that the party wishes to win the sympathy of the Hungarian social strata which has emotional ties to Israel, the minister said: the concurrence of the visit and the election campaign is accidental, he received the invitation and accepted it from the Israeli deputy prime minister last May.

In answer to a question on possible sanctions by the Arab world, the minister of state said it would be short-sightedness from the part of the Arab countries to react in this way to the increasingly close Hungarian-Israeli relations. Pozsgay said that, in his view, the Middle East settlement is inconceivable without the Palestinians and Arabs. If they fabricate an accusation from the fact that the Hungarian Government maintains relations with Israel, then I do not know how they conceive a peaceful future, Pozsgay said.

The minister also said he would not be surprised if the Israeli leaders were to ask him questions about the anti-Semitism manifestations in Hungary, but he would be surprised if he were to be officially blamed for these. "If there is a government in East Europe which has done something against the spread of anti-Semitism, then the Hungarian Government is the one". The politician of the Socialist Party said.

In the course of the visit, which is to end on Thursday, Pozsgay is to meet with his host, and Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir, and Minister of Defense Yitzhaq Rabin.

Meeting With Rabin

LD2801201290 Budapest MTI in English 1850 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Tel Aviv. January 28 (MTI)—Imre Pozsgay held a brief discussion with Israeli Minister of Defense Yitzhaq Rabin on Sunday evening.

The Hungarian minister of state said after the meeting that, according to Yitzhaq Rabin, one of the fundamental conflicts of the Jewish state is the issue of peace, and the price for which Israel can conclude this peace.

The Israeli minister said that his country's peace conception rests on two pillars. One is the negotiation readiness with the Arab states, the other is the full creation of its own security until solid peace is established.

Pozsgay said that the meeting on Sunday did not include talks on the relations between the Israel Labour Party and the Hungarian Socialist Party. This theme is to be discussed on Tuesday, at the meeting with his host, Shim'on Peres, president of the Labor Party.

Nemeth Departs for Strasbourg

LD2901101790 Budapest MTI in English 0930 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 29 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, left for an official visit to Strasbourg on Monday at the invitation of Anders Bjorck, president of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

Mr Nemeth is to contribute to the Monday session of the Parliamentary Assembly.

Szuros Appeals to Nation on Elections

LD1901223990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Speech by acting President Matyas Szuros to the nation; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] My fellow countrymen. The election campaign is beginning in earnest these days with the nominations for deputy. We will hold free National Assembly elections on 25 March, which will be an event of unparalleled significance in our country's history. Great responsibility falls on us to ensure that the new parliament's birth involves the fewest possible ordeals and difficulties and that thoughtless and irresponsible election methods do not endanger the peace or the future of the country and the nation.

I believe that we are able to live through, with dignity, the creation of a democratic state system and the period of tribulation this, of necessity, entails. According to the Constitution, the president of the Republic must keep guard over the nation's unity and the state organization's democratic functioning. For this reason, taking it as our point of departure that the our country's events might take an unfavorable direction, because many people have not yet learned from the tragedies of our own past, nor from the surrounding countries' recent bitter experiences, I call on the country's public, primarily the leaders, the bodies of the parties and the political groupings and organizations, to refrain from extreme manifestations and from emotions that disturb and spoil the social mood. The press should not give space to intimidations and instigations. It should take care of the truth; it should not serve up groundless sensations. There should be no appeals for demonstrations and strikes, because these, without helping to ease our problems, could launch unpredictable, uncontrollable processes, and they could sweep the peaceful character of the democratic transformation into danger.

Let us learn from our own historical experiences. Unfortunately, in our country it is often the voice of emotion more than that of reason, impatience rather than patience, that has been heard; social demagoguery has easily become decisive and hatred has predominated.

The country's population wishes for calm, peace, and existential and public security. For this reason, in the shining political period of the election campaign, we should especially endeavor to understand one another, and aim for self-discipline and tolerance. Democracy cannot be created through an onslaught. The accumulated mistaken decisions of an entire generation and the consequences thereof cannot be corrected or eliminated in the space of a few months. Let us preserve the country's governability, and in this interest let us prevent the state and administrative system from falling into disarray.

The parties and political forces that took part in the trilateral talks owe responsibility for the implementation of the agreements that came about last September, and the creative atmosphere of the discussions at the time, their readiness to take action against accusations, against scandal-mongering, and against the incitement of conflicts. Let the sober-thinking people shape public opinion. We welcome endeavors that are directed at consistent compliance with legality and at working out an election ethics code.

It is a long acknowledged truth that the real freedom is not to be able to do what you want, but to be able to do what you have to do. To be accepted, every party, every electoral candidate must convince their voters with their program, with their truth, not with attacks on their opponents, or deliberate attempts at discrediting them. Only in such a way can they preserve their own dignity and the country's dignity. I am asking my compatriots, who are conscious of their historical responsibility, in the spirit of the preservation of national peace and the spirit of unity, to support the endeavors outlined in my appeal. We must not allow the peaceful transition in the developing and strengthening Hungarian democracy to flounder.

Thurmer Addresses MSZMP Rally 12 Jan

LD1401071290 Budapest MTI in English 2249 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 12 (MTI)—The second stage of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party/MSZMP] December congress is to be held on January 27, where issues concerning the future will be on the agenda, it was reported by Gyula Thurmer, president of the HSWP on Friday, at the party's political rally held in Veszrem (W Hungary). Anti-Communism is gaining ground in Hungary and the government, calling itself socialist, is letting this happen, Mr Thurmer said. The HSWP does not agree with present foreign policy either, although present endeavours to improve East-West relations are supported, but the selling-out of the moral values of Hungarian foreign politics is protested, the party president continued. In his view, this was manifested by the invitation extended to the foreign minister of the apartheid South African regime to visit Hungary, despite protests by a number of countries and international organisations.

In conclusion, Mr Thurmer termed his party's present role to be historic, in that it is endeavouring to keep alive the ideology of socialism in this section of Europe, as it was phrased by the president of the HSWP.

Journalists Association Chairman Resigns

LD1201142690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Summary] Laszlo Robert, who was elected only 4 months ago as chairman of the Journalists National Association [MUOSZ], has resigned his post. He told Budapest radio the reasons for his decision:

[Begin Robert recording] I did not resign primarily because of the problems in my relations with the MUOSZ secretary general or the lack of trust which some presidium members displayed in my leadership style. I resigned primarily because the Presidium changed its stance about the the Radio and Television Supervisory Committee.

I do not in general oppose media supervisory committees. These exist in all advanced democracies under parliamentary control. But in the present situation in Hungary I can only think of one that reflects an agreement among political parties to ensure equality of political-electoral opportunity. [end recording]

PZPR Disbands at Congress; New Party Formed

PZPR Congress Opens 27 Jan

LD2701131490 Warsaw PAP in English 1218 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 27—The Polish United Workers' Party [PUWP] started its 11th congress here on Saturday. The debate was opened by PUWP CC First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski.

Present at the congress are: President Wojciech Jaruzelski, Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, representatives of leaderships of political parties and social organizations.

Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki sent a cable to participants in the congress in which he expressed the hope that the outcome of the congress would serve democracy in Poland.

Rakowski Speech

LD2701133190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1113 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Speech by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Polish United Workers Party, PZPR, first secretary, at PZPR Congress in Warsaw—live; broadcast in progress]

[Text] We want to start building a new party. Its creators will be faced with an enormous effort. Tough and selfless people will be required, people who can take a lot. Those who attack us today are already saying that the new party will be repainted Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. We have to prove, to ourselves and to them, that we are among the people who have understood the rhythm of time and its needs.

We regard the presence of the PZPR in the nation's and the country's life as past, but it would be a bad thing if the 11th congress were to become the author of an act of indictment against it. I think it is vital today to express recognition and thanks to all those PZPR members who in the past 40 years, with sweat on their brow, most often far from grand policy, from court and lobby intrigues, created material and spiritual values worthy of respect. I do this in defense of the dignity of millions of Poles. I believe that even if many do not find themselves in the new party, they will continue to link their fate with the left and will entrust it with the defense of their interests. I also consider it morally justified to express sincere thanks to members of the Central Committee elected at the 10th PZPR Congress. That was the Central Committee of the 10th plenum. It was at that plenum that we carried out the historic turnabout, proclaiming the opening of dialogue with the political opposition. We did not do this under pressure of street demonstrations or the threat of a general strike, but of our own free will; free and independent, in the assessment of Poland's chances and potential at the threshold of the last decade of the 20th century. A great deal of the credit for this goes to the Central Committee's first secretary at that time, backed up by a group of comrades—comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski.

I am saying this with full conviction on the basis of facts. Leaving the historians to deal with the PZPR's history, it is still impossible to avoid dealing with the past, in particular when we have the ambition of creating a program for the future.

The PZPR's past requires an unbiased evaluation. It must be free of the political noise and emotions born out of depression, an acute feeling of disaster, and the continuing search for an answer to the question: Why did we lose; why did the public, the overwhelming majority of whom took part in the elections, decide to elect not us but the Solidarity camp? Such an evaluation must also take into consideration the complexity of the roads along which every revolution develops.

The mood of revenge and persecution also has nothing to do with an unbiased evaluation. Such an evaluation is needed not just by us but by Poland. The clarity regarding the roads to the future demands clarity in the assessment of the past. The past's fundamental problem should be reduced to the following question: Was the PZPR, which was created out of a unification of the Polish Workers Party and the Polish Socialist Party, ever capable of becoming a party which resolutely went along the Polish road to socialism?

Let us recall that the party was created in the period when Stalin was strengthening his powerful influence on the international communist movement. We must openly admit that in Europe, whose main shape was constructed as a result of the division of our continent by the victorious powers at the end of World War II, the possibilities of choosing ways of development for Poland were very limited.

In this situation, only the government of the left, accepting subjugation to the USSR, was capable of maintaining a significant range of autonomy and independence.

The alternatives were dangerous: Poland, from the Bug to the Warta, governed by a governor, perhaps even without its own statehood. The fate of those who searched for the Polish road to socialism and attempted to march along it must not be forgotten. The Stalinist repressions, which included Wladyslaw Gomulka and many other party activists, should not be avoided in the evaluation of the past decades.

At the same time we must say openly that initially the majority of party activists, in particular those coming from the communist movement between the wars, accepted Stalinism as their conviction, identifying Stalinism with socialism. However, the situation gradually changed.

Since 1956 the PZPR strived to gain maximum autonomy in the years before the restructuring. We ought to be just—those times should not be measured by the current USSR policy as implemented by Gorbachev. It was only Gorbachev and his friends who initiated the policy of excluding the imposition of their own choice of party on other nations.

The policy of the USSR and the CPSU in the pre-Gorbachev era had, to various degress, an imperialist character. The effects of this policy were most acutely felt by us in 1981. Brezhnev and his team were incapable of understanding the reasons for the mass workers' protests, which in July and August 1980, opened the process of profound changes in our public life.

Brezhnev and his emissaries continued to exert constant pressure and stubbornly posed the question for Stanislaw Kania and Wojciech Jaruzelski: When will you begin the real fight against the counterrevolution?

Counterrevolution—that is Solidarity. They were also hypercritical of the programmatic goals presented by the PZPR in 1981. On the other hand, they had great respect for those, who in their eyes, were real communists. they asked, Why are you not allowing the so-called good comrades to speak?

Today one must speak loudly about all the pressures exerted by Brezhnev's team, and the next two Soviet leadership teams.

I recall 1981—constant visits, Gromyko's presence in Poland, and the words of Kulikov and Zamyatin. I was then deputy premier, responsible for everything involved in the so-called superstructure. I recall a meeting with Zamyatin and with Klasa, the then head of the press department. Zamyatin carpeted us—or rather it is difficult to speak about the carpet, it was hard floor—and for several hours delivered a list of complaints, asking why we were allowing the Polish press to publish counterrevolutionary voices and opinions.

I shall never forget those events, those unpleasant conversations which often made me feel helpless. I think that historians, because of their duty to break the silence, will deal with 1981 and the following years.

Brezhnev's doctrine hung like an axe over the Polish party and its leadership teams. It had its political consequences and psychological results. Both were expressed in the appearance, for many years, of the sacred question: What will the Soviet comrades say to this? One also should not forget the fate of Dubcek, thrown into an airplane which was flying him and his comrades to an unknown destination. This reminds one about the allowed limits for independence. This doctrine to a large extent blocked the dismantling of the Stalinist economic and political structures, although many PZPR members were long aware the necessity to move in this direction. This can be clearly demonstrated by the course and resolutions of the ninth extraordinary PZPR Congress. The imposed model of Soviet socialism, which was accepted, which de facto functioned until the time of the full creation of the concept of restructuring, was one of the main reasons for the defeat on such a large scale.

It was experienced not only by the PZPR, as a matter of fact, This model, which was born in a feuding country without deeper democratic traditions, was a historical continuation of customs characteristic of the feudal era. despite the doubtless civilization leap and social progress which embraced millions of working people, workers' and peasants' sons, despite a deep feeling of national security—a very valuable achievement of the post-war years—and despite the proper position taken by Poland in Europe and the world, Our nation instinctively felt the artificial and foreign character of the political concept which we were implementing. This is undoubtedly an unpleasant confession, but it has to be made if we want to win the bridgeheads of credibility for the future leftist socialist party which is being born.

The reasons for the failure of the socio-economic formation, which has been in the process of being built since 1945 on Polish land, should also be searched for in the concept of the economic development which was adopted and which was being implemented. The PZPR, and earlier the Polish Workers' Party and the left of the Polish Socialist Party, stood on the ground of Marxist socialism, which was based on the premise of substituting market mechanisms of regulating the economy by total or partial planning, at least in the sphere of investment and division of national income. This idea has, generally speaking, turned out to be utopian. In practice it created a very strong bureaucratic way of managing people and things. however, For some time—in the 1st quarter of a century in post-war Poland—it acted as an effective lever for industrialization, urbanization, educational revolution, and also for limiting the high degree of social differentiation. The poorest and weakest strata benefited from this, and the richer working and qualified strata lost out. This concerns primarily the intelligentsia. It is no surpirise that this was the stratum which placed itself in the vanguard of gravediggers of the so-called real socialism.

When placing the economic system, which was being implemented for decades under criticism, one should at the same time accept as utopian the conviction or hope that there is no contradiction between social security, social justice, and economic efficiency forced by market mechanisms, and that there is no opposition between capital and labor.

The advocates of economic liberalism, if capable of total honesty, openly reject the idea of social justice as a harmful utopia leading to economic stagnation. Having the possibility to consistently implement their concept, they become ruthless toward those social strata which expect a policy from the government guarding the principles of social justice. Such an expectation also exists in Polish society, and it is not possible to overcome it by primitive and shallow praises of the supremacy of free market play.

The contradiction which we are speaking about does exist. The problem is how to resolve it. Marxist socialism wanted to resolve it unilaterally and radically, which in conclusion caused a halt to economic development, the disappearance of innovative and effectiveness motivation, and the creation of the strong bureaucratic state. The economic policy which created such phenomena demoralized millions of producers, and many creative individuals from the world of science and technology were condemned to isolation and a nagging feeling of helplessness.

The applied economic system pushed Poland to the bottom ot the table in European and world statistics, hurting the national pride of Poles. alas. The attempts to reform the decreasingly effective economic system which were undertaken since 1956 were half-hearted.

We had good intentions but we were not accompanied by either full understanding of the nature of the task or the necessary courage, particularly in action.

Even the 10th congress' program remained within the circle of recipes improving the economic and political system, whereas what was needed was a fundamental change in the way of thinking and of viewing reality.

However, there is another side to the coin. Although the reforms were half-hearted, we were in 1982-89 much more courageous than our neighbors. I recall my last talk with Egon Krenz on 4 December in Moscow. Krenz, who was then still general secretary, but who was already in decline—he was in this post only a dozen or so days, such are the times—turned to me and said: You know, if we had not ridiculed you for all those years and not accused you of opportunism and avoidance and being too soft, if we simply followed you, then perhaps the development of events in the GDR would now be travelling in another direction.

I also recall the conversation with Jakes in October of last year. Jakes complained, saying that the influence of the West was affecting small groups of intellectuals who had become rebels, that this and that was also percolating from Poland. But, he said, as long as we are in control of prices and wages, and as long as there is food on the shelves, then there is nothing to worry about.

It transpired that soon after, the masses demonstrated against this very philosophy. It transpired that democracy and democratic freedoms were much more important in many cases than the full shelves or a good beer.

Speaking about the one-sided evaluation of the postwar years, we must at the same time state that the PZPR, wielding power for decades, in a monopolistic manner, and therefore fully responsible for economic policy, failed to cope with the challenge of the epoch. That is why we had to lose. But this is not the end of the long list of reasons which made us realize that we had to consider the PZPR a political formation with no future.

I believe that the main weakness of the communist movement and the source of all its failures was in its giving up political democracy. Pragmatic sources of the authoritarian system were in the already mentioned attempt to substitute the market by state planning and by rationing, which led to etatism and bureaucracy. The essence of bureaucratic thinking and acting, which was extended above all other measures, can be defined in the following way: We know better what serves the nation, what the nation needs, and what harms it.

However, the doctrinal sources for giving up political democracy will be found in Lenin's concept of the proletariat dictatorship, which de facto meant a dictatorship by one party, and which had to transform itself into an oligarchic or personal despotism. This happened in several countries of real socialism. The concept of proletariat dictatorship practised in this way led to a loss of ideological identity by communist parties. The PZPR was also more and more clearly becoming a party distributing posts and benefits.

On the other hand, one should not oversimplify historical processes. Since the October breakthrough in 1956 a struggle has been taking place in our country and in our party to transform the hegemonic and monoparty rule toward democracy. This did not achieve success, although one should not underestimate the results which were achieved in the form of greater liberalism in comparison with other countries of real socialism.

It is also worth recalling that the failure of attempts toward democracy was brought about by both the opposition of conservative forces and by the lack of consistent renewal and reformatory forces. One could not democratize the system effectively and preserve the concept of the party's leading and guiding role. This was a contradiction which required a solution. There was no alternative other than pluralism. It took a long time to reach this conclusion, but, one should mention it again, the ideas of the roundtable were our own—the Polish and PZPR's choice. It is also a fact which cannot be undermined, that during the development of the situation, we were becoming more and more aware of the fact that pluralism meant at least a temporary withdrawal of our movement from power.

Society has been freed from the barrier of fear and has practically been called upon to declare its personal convictions, to put its trust in the Solidarity camp. Let us state openly: We deserved a good thrashing. Complaints about and the hurt caused by the loss of power must be put to one side. We must enter the road of stubborn struggle to regain the lost confidence.

This is not a hopeless road. At its start we say goodbye to the PZPR and begin the construction of a new party of the left which should have the ambition to become the strongest political group among the other structures active on the left. We should resolutely strive for an alliance with them.

I believe that this will be a party rejecting any thought of a monopolistic position, a party honestly and permanently linked to the principles of pluralist democracy.

We shall begin the construction of a new party in extremely complex conditions, both internally and externally. The draft law recently submitted by a group of Citizens Parliamentary Group deputies, which envisages the confiscation of the whole material base at the disposal of the PZPR, was interpreted by us as intending to deprive the party which we intend to set up—and wider, the whole Polish left—of the chance of development.

In this draft we saw a desire for revenge, so distant from the intentions voiced at the roundtable. Although one can understand the psychological basis for revenge, nevertheless I consider that this is not the way to democracy. This smacks of a dictatorship, this time by the extreme right.

As a final result, the effects would also be fatal for the authors of such ideas. We know what we are speaking about. Totalitarianism served us badly too.

It may seem inappropriate for the PZPR to issue such warnings. The point here is not the PZPR or some private interests. The PZPR page has been closed. We are warning against those steps which can destroy the weak pluralism which is still being born, and the legal state, in the deepest conviction that substituting one system of dictatorship with another, one demagogy with another, would mean a waste of a great chance which has opened up for Poland.

We are no longer defending the interests of the PZPR but that of the democratic future of the Polish left, in the conviction that without the left there is no pluralism and democracy. The left is needed in Poland. The view that things will be easier and that it will be simpler to govern without it is an illusion, a political concept derived from the conviction that any national agreement—so very much needed by Poland and by the current government—can be creative without the influential left and which draws its strength from the changes which have taken place in the consciousness of post-war generations of Poles, is a poor one. it would be an historical error if a line of thinking were to strengthen in the country's political life whose representatives came to the conclusion that such an agreement could be achieved without the left.

In considering Polish affairs, we cannot ignore the international context. In the last few months, a wave of revolutionary shocks has passed through Eastern and Central Europe. The masses have dealt a crushing blow to those leadership teams and the structures they hardened, which had become set in their obstinacy, and which rejected with great determination any thoughts whatsoever of the need for deep reforms. The leaders of those countries drew no conclusions from the Polish experience; nonetheless, their populations did. We are monitoring the course of events in the Soviet Union with sympathy but with growing fear. We wish Mikhail Gorbachev and his supporters success in untangling the knots of contradiction which were created by Stalinism. We give full moral and political support to the leader of the CPSU, a man who had the courage to set a challenge for the epoch in which he grew up. As the great prince of the Catholic Church, Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, put it just before he died, for us, for Poland, it is a national necessity to lean against the eastern Slavonic wall; all the more so since events are occurring to the west of the Oder and Lusatian neisse which are forcing us to think about the Poland of the 1990s and beginning of the 21st century with growing concern. One can express the hope that all political forces in the country will show this concern, in particular the Catholic Church, whose (?word) and sensitivities as regards the issue of national existence cannot in any circumstances be undermined.

The highly positive process taking place in Eastern and Central Europe was accompanied by a phenomenon—let's hope marginal— but nonetheless dangerous in its (?significance) and effects. Old prejudices are being reborn, national disputes are making themselves felt, as are nationalism, chauvinism, and anti-semitism. We have entered such a phase of development in this part of Europe which could have not just a positive but also a negative influence on all Europe, however. That is the reason why I am a warm adherent of the active presence of the Socialist International in Poland and the whole of Eastern Central Europe. It is with great satisfaction that I note the fact that the people whom I spoke to led by Willy Brandt, the great German Social Democrat, understand the significance of this historical moment.

Against the background of these transformations, the creation of favorable phenomena, giving rise to concern [as heard], we ought to examine internal relations. Two planes are important for today and tomorrow—the economic and political.

Poland's economic situation is sufficiently well known. The need for deep and radical reforms is not and cannot be questioned. However, the question as to the choice of the path which ought to result in Poland being led out of the economic crisis is an open one. No one today has an unequivocal convincing reply. (?One thing) is certain: judging from all the statements, Deputy Premier Balcerowicz's group concluded that the healing of the Polish economy can only be carried out by grafting a capitalist base on to Poland. That group seems unable to see another way to assure economic efficiency, technological and organizational progress, and economic development. The transformation from a socialist economy, with all of its deformities, about which we've already spoken, to a private capitalist economy, is to be carried out de facto in conditions which were created by the dismal capitalism of the 19th century. The general pauperization of working people; unemployment on a scale of a million and maybe more people; the dispossession of small farms; the selling of the state's assets, small and great factories to private local and foreign capital—that is the prospect being drawn up for Poland in the last 10 years of the 20th century. The political and economic model of the neoliberals assumes the elimination of a majority of the social arrangements which have a socialist character, and a considerable and evident broadening of the extremes of poverty alongside wealth, which will be the share of relatively few.

Was that what the people who founded Solidarity had in mind? The reference made by the supporters of neoliberalism to tried and tested models is, to put it mildly, a very strained half-truth. Tried and tested models vary, from the North American, the South Korean, the Malaysian, to the Swedish. however, It has to be admitted that tried and tested models fall on fertile social ground today. People want to believe that they can improve their lot. The social effects of the victory of a model based on tried and tested patterns may—and I stress may—turn out to be disastrous: Bitterness; a collapse of the belief in purposeful and productive work; moral uncertainty; the rebirth of various prejudices against people, who by way of example drive round in Mercedes. They may end in a specifically Polish brand of Peronism.

The parties and organizations active on the left cannot agree to a complete retreat from all forms of socialism. Contemporary socialism does not shut its eyes to real contradictions but seeks solutions through state intervention in the economy and by correcting the division of national income in favor of the weaker and the poorer. This is undoubtedly easier in conditions of wealth and more difficult in conditions of poverty, but it is essential. The economic policy of the neoliberals requires the existence of a strong party of the left and a strong center; a strong political representation with regard to the interest of wage earners and peasants—that is to say, all those who require to be defended against the spontaneously operating mechanism of a market economy—because this is stil a mechanism which threatens their existence. Defense of their interests must not, however, mean the liquidation of economic mechanisms, because this would destroy the economy. However it must mean their appropriate correction by means of the play of forces and interests. The left must be a player in this game.

One must not give up the struggle for social security and social justice. We will continue to fight for them by different methods. In this sense, the tradition which we should follow will be socialist and not communist in its ideological stratum. however, In practice the left's economic program will, I think, concur with the social democratic option. There is no other realistic way which working people can accept. Of course, this takes into account the differences resulting from the changes which were made in the country's economic and social life after world war II.

In reference to this, I would like to say a couple of words on the future party's name. Taking into consideration the main direction of the future party's action, its aims in the sphere of socio-economic policy, and its ideological profile, I personally am in favor of a Polish social democratic party. [applause]

The sphere and depth of changes occurring in Eastern and Central Europe can best be perceived in the political sphere. Practically speaking, a one party system and also a government carried out by communist parties based on a monopoly has ceased to exist during the last several months in the countries of this area. We are in a period of creating and forming new political forces. This means that political stabilisation in this part of Europe will for a long time remain a far-reaching aim. The most dramatic example of this was the events in Romania. As a side note: I consider that for the good of the leadership, of which I am a member, our unequivocal and worthy reply given to Ceausescu—when in August last year he took an initiative to call the PZPR back into line—ought to be recorded.

I see that the proposal for a party name has resulted in comment. I can still therefore propose several more names which are in circulation.

The handing over of government to the Solidarity camp in Poland took place, if one can put it like this, by peaceful means. That is without doubt a success to the Poles. The point of departure for it was precisely the success of the roundtable. What is the essence of this government? It is clear that its (?theory and) representatives cannot be placed on the traditionally understood left. Today, in the political life of Poland, we are contact with a conglomeration of views and attitudes. The process of forming the profile of the main political forces is continuing. In a similar manner to ourselves, the Solidarity camp is also looking for its ideological identity. It is not an easy process. For example, the attempts to create political parties functioning in the interwar period give weak results and probably don't augur success.

We ought to approach with great caution the ideological and political assessments of the governing camp, taking into consideration the fact that many of its eminent representatives direct their social behavior by the progressive church teaching, so meaningfully applied by Pope John Paul II.

The right is traditionally linked with reaction, so let's not (?issue) premature judgments. These warnings are not just theoretical. In my opinion, one should perceive a victory for democratically oriented thinking in the stand which Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government has adopted on the aforementioned bill on depriving a future party of the left of a material base—up to and including the last ballpoint pen. This is one more reason not to regard our support for the government's reforming orientation as a cunning tactical move. We should not and must not adopt the position of critics, but should decide on tactics in every case or every form of situation. I think we should adopt the following viewpoint: Systems of government and political systems have their beginning and their end; but what is permanent and intransient is that we are born on the Vistula, on the Bug, on the Odra, and Nysa Luzycka, and here we create our lasting Polish community. [applause]

On the other hand, we cannot fail to perceive that at the center of the Solidarity camp forces of the right are gathered which make the prospect of ideas and attitudes strengthening feasible, not of those enlightened people represented, for instance, by the Res Publica Group and the premier's entourage, but of the dubious and the sinister. The triumph of this trend, particularly in the face of social frustration increasing against the background of worsening living conditions for millions of people, may give birth to an authoritarianism no less dangerous than neo-Stalinism. [applause]

It would be a fatal blow to the nascent parliamentary democracy, it would also have a highly negative effect on the position taken up today by the European left and various types of democratic movement. The party, which we will, I hope, create, will have to make every effort to bar the way effectively to this by no means theoretical danger. It will not achieve this aim on its own. An alliance of all those forces which the new dictatorship can strike at its essential.

And thus all the political forces concentrated in the left and also trade unionists, progressive youth, and intelligentsia. The defense of pluralism, toleration, and democracy, the defense of the left of our movement from a witchhunt, from attempts to eliminate inconvenient partners by administrative methods, is not only our affair—it is the duty of all democrats. The saying goes: All they that perish by the sword shall perish with the sword. We also know something about that. [applause]

From the events described briefly—due to necessity—whose arena since 1989 has been Eastern and Central Europe, from the appearance of new political forces on the Polish scene, whose representatives came out in that year from some kind of forces sojourn with our active help, one general conclusion presents itself: The question of the left is not a particularist matter—that is, a group, party or milieu one. It is a national question, even a European and world one. Already now even single links of a future strong chain of the left should be created. If that does not happen, we could as a nation be thrown back to an age of intolerance and new totalitarianism. The future generations of Poles would not forgive us for silently observing the march backward and the world would be unstinting in humiliations for us.

The main force of the left front, its main pillar, must be a modern left-wing party returned with a base in the future. That party could be the one which we create. Under no circumstances can it be a continuation of the PZPR which took on the real mentality of the Stalinist era. The ejection of all characteristics of that mentality is the first and most difficult task with which the new party is faced. Let's not deceive ourselves: It's going to be a process—after all, not only we are the children of the era—which we want to finally take leave of. Children of the era of intolerance are also those who today are striving for the suffocation of the left. How can we overcome the past, the weight which is placed on our back? Only by a return to the European and Polish understanding of socialism. If we go back to the beginnings of socialist thought, then without difficulty we will see that its authors imagined socialism as a development and perfection of democratic republicanism. The classical republican idea—a state governed by the law, parliamentarianism, human and civic rights, the separation of the church from the state, secularity and universality of education, the autonomy of science, the independence of the courts, freedom of speech, religion and conscience, the spread of culture—the growing socialism accepted this as a valuable heritage, assuming that it would fill those concepts with an improved content.

This resulted from the fact that its creators understood social justice holistically, i.e. in the economic, political, social, and cultural sphere. The feudal system concept of socialism created and practised by Stalin distorted these concepts completely. By depriving them radically and irrevocably of their Stalinist heritage, we can regain the chance of basing the social idea anew on the contemporary European republican idea. Only in this way can we build an ideological identity for a new party, begin to gather around us all those who are attached to republicanism and socialism, and who will be increasingly threatened by the growing unfavorable phenomena in economic and political life. The new party must immediately set about regaining the lost classic goals of the left: The protection of the poor, the weak, the exploited, the oppressed, the disadvantaged; and those who have been wronged for different reasons.

One factor guaranteeing the political appeal of Polish socialism's republican ideological roots will be the spread of public awareness of this very truth. With this aim, the new party should carry on the living tradition of the left and bring Dabrowski and the Legionaries lelewel, Debowski, and the revolutionary democrats Worcell and Krepowiecki, Traugutt and the Reds, Warynski and Limanowski, Krzywicki and Abramowski, Pilsudski at the time when he was a socialist, Daszynski, Niedzialkowski, Kostrzewa-Koszutska, Prochnik, Lange, and Hochfeld into still living Polish history.

Without a return to those and many other names, there can be no awareness of the left, and without an awareness of the left it is hard to speak of its identity; and without an identity there is no party. There was an ongoing dispute in the discussion preceding the 11th congress about the nature of the future party—socialist or social democratic? I personally think that to a great extent this was and is an artificial dispute. The new party is to be, above all, a polish party. [applause] Polish in the sense that it will build only on the achievements of native socialist thinking, and that it will accept a turn in the direction of European socialist thought. However, it will undertake an attempt, successful in its final effect, to offer the nation a third way, which will be a complete contradiction of real socialism and a convincing alternative to an unbridled free play of forces.

The third way should be the synthesis and the vision of reconciled social values, that is multiplicity of types of ownership and a welfare state, but in a different shape; a free market, but fairly corrected; productive industry linked to a humanization of labour; freeedom of initiative with public ownership; freedom with self-government; material prosperity with cultural emancipation; and openness to any kind of progressive idea with faithfulness to one's own identity. Working out a model of the third way which would be the synthesis of issues is the key matter for the future of Poland.

If a new party of the left wishes to play an historic national and world role in the coming decades, it ought to work out the theory and practise of this synthesis. This is the task to be completed in the last decade of this century.

In creating the new party's foundations we must also clearly say that socialism is not just a certain historical vision but also a clearly defined personal attitude. Socialism is a practical choice of justice and freedom, cooperation in competition, solidarity in individuality, emancipation in dependence, subjectivity in objectivity, and above all emancipation of those working and the humanization of labor.

If socialism is not realized in a personal attitude—which means it is not present at all—nothing will be helped by a flood of words and beautiful declarations.

Esteemed delegates, I would like to present in a few words my personal view on the matter which caused a lot of emotion, that is on the issue of the leadership of the new party. I claimed all the time that I wished to be above personnel problems, as I saw my main goal in the following way: I wanted to lead to the congress a party politically and intellectually stimulated, not fragmented. I wanted you to see how much energy and creative possibilities there are in us alone. I was of the opinion that while working on the shape of the new party it was necessary to create a good climate for it in the community of European socialist parties. Many warm words of encouragement were heard by me from Willy Brandt, the leader of Socialist Internationale, and Italian Socialist Bettino Craxi, and Spanish leader Filippe Gonzales.

As you know, I have also considered my own candidacy as head of the new party. My goal for many, many years has been the profound reform of the PZPR in the social-democrat direction—not in a mechanical way, of course—into a party fighting for the just division of goods and free from the Stalinist model of ruling. I did not concel that, either as a journalist or a politician.

However, the end of an era is approaching in the history of the Polish worker's movement. My generation has had experiences which no one should disregard, let alone [word indistinct] or refer to with irony. Nor do I think that anyone in this room would question our readiness to fight for a new party of the Polish left; by our, I mean my generation's. My generation still has enough strength to take part in that fight, but nevertheless, I think it useful to hand over the tiller to the next generation. I do not personally intend to run for the party leadership and I don't think other comrades of my generation will do it either. [applause]

Our voting has already taken place. [applause] I think that there is no person in the party today who can be placed above the interests of the party and democratic socialism. In this context I want to express the view, obviously a personal view, that I am joining these people who with all firmness appeal for the preservation of unity. [applause]

If we want to exist as a real force on the Polish political stage, we should not succumb to the temptation of leaving the congress hall for several days, and there are quite a few of them [sentence as heard].

Comrade delegates! I am convicned that we all feel the importance of this moment. The reality cannot be changed by declarations of good will and promises that our intentions are pure. This also concerns the ideological transformations which should be borne by all comrades who will join the ranks of the new party, and above all, its leadership teams. A gigantic organizing task awaits the new party. A condition for ideological transformation will be the building of a network of many-sided inspiration to replace one-sided inspiration and one-sided command. the determining factors for the existence of such centers must be independence of thought, disinterested creative work and freedom of speech. Only then will they be able to stand up to the philosophical, cultural, and social problems of this transformation.

Only then will they attract the old and the young intelligentsia. Only then will they shine out into the environment, fertilizing the ground for the rebirth of this strong and influencial left. Also, only then will the old divisions, superstitions, and fears inherited from Stalinism finally be overcome. Only if we move along this path shall we create a new platform for the left, which will unite many of its hitherto opponents.

If this kind of activity is historically accidental for the right, for the left it is a way to exist. Without intellectual gatherings and without intellectual debates, the left simply does not exist. Today, in reality the left does not exist. It can be created and it must be created. This will happen on one condition: if it becomes aware of the entire scope of historical transformation and the entire burden of its present and future tasks. What is more: if it takes it all on itself, although not for itself.

Comrade delegates! We are starting a debate on a future party of the left in a place which has been inseparably connected with the activity of the PZPR. This hall was witness to events which cannot be erased from one's memory. Among them there were events arousing optimism, but there were also events for which one should be ashamed. for example, I mean the famous rally in March 1968, at which slogans could be heard which were completely contrary to humanism and respect for the dignity of man. However, this is also the hall of the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress. It was a congress of courageous people, able to critically assess their own activity and the activity of the party as a political organization. It was a congress of comrades who, in those days, could afford hope. This found its expression in the adoption of a program of renewal of social and economic life, progressive and bold for those times.

The passage of time has corrected our views on many matters and problems. It has made us more mature and bold. In my speech at the ninth congress, calling for boldness, for bold solutions, for the recognition of the new social forces that were then entering the Polish political stage, I told the listeners: Let us not be afraid. Today, I wish to repeat this call. Let us not be afraid of bold thinking about the future; let us not be afraid of the struggle for the victory of socialist ideals; let us not be afraid of the difficult struggles in the battle of the victory of democratic socialism. [applause]

Commissions Elected

LD2701162590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Excerpts] The 11th Congress of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] is continuing. [passage omitted on Rakowski's opening speech]

Following the speech by the first secretary, the congress accepted the agenda and regulations of the congress. The delegates voted on the members of the Congress' Presidium, the Mandate Commission, the Statute Commission, and the Resolutions and Motions Commission. The procedural part of the deliberations closed with this and substantive debates began. [passage omitted on Mazowiecki telegram]

PZPR Votes To Disband

LD2901012390 Warsaw PAP in English 0055 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 28—The 11th Congress of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party, PZPR] adopted a resolution on the end of the party's activity. The resolution, aside the party's merits in the period of postwar rebuilding of Poland, points to the responsibility of its authorities for the crimes of the Stalinist period.

"Being aware of the impossibility of regaining social confidence by the PUWP, the delegates have decided to end the activity of the party. Poland in its new shape, needs a new structure of the Polish left. The time of its rebuilding is coming," the resolution reads in part.

PZPR Cedes Duties to New Party

LD2901011990 Warsaw PAP in English 0020 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 29—In another resolution, the congress of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party, PZPR] decides to cede the entirety of its rights and duties, including those connected with the property, to the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland.

PZPR Resolution on Ending Activity

LD2901040190 Warsaw PAP in English 0150 GMT 29 Jan 90

["Resolution on Conclusion of PUWP's Activity"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 28—"Poland is going through a turning point. The social and economic system which originated in post war conditions of limited sovereignty and Stalinist domination was not able to meet social needs, did not assure the realization of values whose embodiment it supposed to be. For it lacked both justice and freedom.

"History will make a just evaluation of PUWP's [Polish United Workers Party, PZPR] work and heritage. Its share in Poland's post war achievements, in the reconstruction of the country, development of regained territories, creation of material base permiting for an authentic civilizational advancement of millions of Poles, in securing for Poland peace and safe borders for 45 years, is unquestionable.

"However, one must remember the responsibility of its leadership for crimes committed during the Stalinist era. The PUWP is also responsible for moving away from the principles of democracy, forced collectivization, for conflicts with the working class, for the pauperization of intelligentsia, for the economic and social crises. Here one has to take into consideration the fact that Stalinism and later on neo-Stalinism imposed on post war Poland did not rise out of the tradition and aims of the Polish left.

"Just assessments of the past must separate honest commitment and patriotism of millions of party members from bureaucratic practices and power abuse. We give justice to the committed and honest party members who were able to oppose this.

"In the PUWP's history the current of its reform thought developed and, becoming stronger over the latest ten years, it co-created conditions for the political and economic reforms which was expressed by the PUWP Central Committee 10th Plenum and initiative on the roundtable talks. Life showed that right were those who saw the need for deep changes in the party and outside it. It was them who understood the nature of new conditions and needs which the PUWP could not cope with.

"The delegates to the 11th Congress of the PUWP, being aware of the impossibility of regaining social confidence by the Polish United Workers' Party, have resolved to end the activity of the PUWP.

"Poland, in its new essence, needs new political structure of the Polish left. The time of its building is coming," the resolution reads.

PZPR Congress Ends; New Party Congress Begins

LD2701221190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] The 11th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Congress has suspended its proceedings and the founding congress of a new party of the Polish left has begun following a break.

As we have reported already, Mieczyslaw Rakowski proposed the name Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland as the name for the new party of the left and announced that he would not compete for the leadership of the new party. He also expressed the conviction that other representatives of his generation will not compete either.

The agency UNIA PRESS, reporting information from behind the scenes, disclosed that there was widespread news in the lobbies that the 9 July Movement [reform movement within the PZPR] yesterday booked the main hall of the Warsaw Technical University, the hall in which the PZPR was founded years ago. The hall has been booked for Sunday [28 January] so that a possible break-away gathering could take place there.

[Warsaw PAP in English at 2145 GMT on 27 January carries a brief report on the opening of the new party of the left which adds that the "vast majority of delegates to the congress declared their access to the new party."]

Delegate Spurns New Party Congress

LD2701231690 Warsaw PAP in English 2245 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 27—Tadeusz Fiszbach, a delegate to the 11th PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party] Congress who had Lech Walesa's backing for a new party leader, said he decided not to attend the founding congress of a new party which opened here tonight after the PUWP had suspended its 11th congress.

"This does not mean a split," Fiszbach said, adding he did not know how many delegates had taken similar decisions.

"We can still all meet again and talk," Fiszbach said in a statement, announcing a meeting of the PUWP Parliamentary Floor Group.

"I think that what is going on in the conference hall is a departure from the principles with which I came here," Fiszbach stated.

News Conference on Congress

LD2701223290 Warsaw PAP in English 2134 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 27—"I wish Aleksander Kwasniewski with all my heart to become the leader of the new party. I would like to be in such a party," said PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee Secretary Slawomir Wiatr at today's press conference and added Kwasniewski was the most apt politician to assume this function.

PUWP press spokesman Jan Bisztyga recalled that Kwasnieski won the largest number of votes as a PUWP candidate for senator in the parliamentary elections next to Solidarity candidates and Independent candidate Marian Stoklosa (the only senator who is not Solidarity member).

Asked whether after the recent television meeting between Michnik and Kwasniewski, one can say that Kwasniewski has become "anointed by Michnik", Wiatr said that he was greatly impressed by Michnik's personality and that he had nothing against Kwasniewski and Michnik being friends.

Wiatr also said he would not join a party which would rally such people like film director Bogdan Poreba, who during today's debates put forth the name Tadeusz Fiszbach as a candidate for new party leader. (Poreba is the chairman of the Patriotic Union "Grunwald", a nationalist and partly anti-semitic organization).

While commenting on today's debates, Bisztyga said that the congress was dominated by a drive to maintain unity and the approval for the social-democratic direction of transformations in the party although the potential danger of a split continues to exist.

Asked about the expected approach of a future party to the tradition of the workers' movement from under the banner of the Polish Socialist Party and to other groupings of that name existing today, Wiatr said that some atomization threatens the Polish left wing of various shades of Red.

We must go through it, he added and stressed that great responsibility for the left-wing future will be placed on the new party.

Asked about his assessment of the anti-PUWP demonstrations held in the vicinity of the congress hall, the CC secretary said:

"I have seen various brawls and there is no danger (in them) as long as people are not threatened. Let the youth blow off steam. Activists in uniforms, I think, were in greater numbers there than youth."

Bisztyga reported on the course of the demonstration. He said:

"At about 3 p.m. some 200 people, members of the Independent Students Union (NZS) among them, approached the congress hall. Next 500 men took position at the stairs leading to the hall. They volunteered to protect the hall had the need been for that. At 3.45 p.m. the Militia received information from the NZS that the union withdraw from the demonstration. Thus all events that took place afterwards were provoked by hooligans."

Press Spokesman Briefs Press

LD2801154290 Warsaw PAP in English 1455 GMT 28 Jan 90

[By Jan Rozdzynski]

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 28—Press spokesman of the founding congress Marek Siwiec told a press conference: "The founding congress of the new party is normal. The delegates are trying to get at the heart of what is dividing them. Unless they do this, they will not leave the hall," Siwiec said, adding that several options and possible candidates for leaders were taking shape and that a significant number of delegates has not taken sides yet.

Referring to the attendance of delegates to the 11th PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Congress at the founding congress of the new party, the spokesman revealed that 45 delegates did not sign the declaration of a participant of the founding congress. Tadeusz Fiszbach did not sign such a declaration. But he is present at the congress, following the debates and delivered an important address.

The spokesman deemed the addresses of Fiszbach and Hieronim Kubiak as the most important ones to date. In both speeches they rejected the thesis about the need to maintain the unity of the party and to set up one party.

PAP on New Left Party Congress

LD2801231590 Warsaw PAP in English 2220 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 27—A total of 1586 delegates to the 11th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) gathered in the Congress Hall of the Palace of Culture and Science here today to decide the future of the party and of the Polish left-wing.

At 9 p.m., following a nine-hour discussion the delegates decided to suspend the 11th PUWP Congress and to inaugurate debates of the founding congress of a new party of the Polish left.

PUWP Central Committee First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski opened the congress in the morning. Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski was present in the hall. Also Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, representatives of the leadership of political parties, social organizations, veterans of the workers' movement attended the congress.

Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki sent a cable to the congress in which he expressed hope that its results wil serve well democracy in Poland.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski delivered a speech in which he stated that the PUWP failed to meet the challenges of the era and therefore it was bound to lose.

He also announced that he is not going to run for leader of a new party and said he believed that neither will other representatives of his generation do it. The hall received this announcement with ovation (we move the abridged speech separately).

Discussion

Participants in the discussion stated that the interest of the left-wing requires that the congress assess the party's past. The PUWP bears historical responsibility for materialization of a system which was also a barrier for Poland's development.

Former premier and leader of the Polish Socialist Party right after the war Edward Osobka-Morawski stated that the party should not repent for the past only as the Polish left-wing has also undeniable successes, demarcation of the borders after the war, agricultural reform among them.

Meiczyslaw Mieszczankowski argued with the theses that the PUWP brought Poland to ruin. It is true that in the years 1950-1980 we wasted many opportunities, he said, we made a lot of serious mistakes, more could have been achieved. The recent decade is another thing. There were phenomena of ruining the economy in it, but first of all as an outcome of the stuggle for power. The party cannot shun co-responsibility for those years.

Need for Squaring Up

Boguslaw Zalewski's motion can be placed in the squaring up current. He suggested giving moral satisfaction to those who suffered consequences of a witchhunt in the party and state after 1968. He demanded condemnation of the chauvinist and anti-intelligentsia campaign.

Alliance With Solidarity Needed

Bohdan Poreba stated that a new party needs an alliance with the leftist orientation in the Solidarity, possibly with Lech Walesa as well. He pointed to Tadeusz Fiszbach's role as a possible leader and stressed that a future party has to be of a national character or the nation will reject it.

The delegates resolved by a majority vote to suspend the 11th PUWP Congress and to inaugurate a founding congress of a new party because in order to use the PUWP assets legally, the congress has to take a proper decision naming the inheritor of its property.

Program Declaration Debated

LD2801235390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Excerpts] At the founding congress of the new party of the left, which is deliberating at the Congress Hall in

Warsaw, a split has appeared. The minority group, with Tadeusz Fiszbach, has created the Social Democratic Union (USD), which over 100 delegates declared to have joined, including the majority of members formerly in the Polish United Workers Party legislative floor group. A 14-person organizational group has been appointed, the composition of which includes Tadeusz Fiszbach. [passage omitted] The program declaration was discussed. Its course is described by our reporter directly from the meeting hall.

[Reporter] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. It seemed that after the voting on the statute—which was very efficiently carried out—there would be no problem in the adoption of the program declaration. Only the first point was passed. Then, after enormous disputes and quarrels, added to the draft was the formulation that the future of the party is associated with democratic socialism and not capitalism. This formulation was voted through. A break was announced.

After the break the struggle began anew. The Krakow delegation proposed the voting through of a return to the original text of the draft programm declaration, that is without the formulation about democratic socialism. The proposal was passed with a decisive majority of votes. This met with a sharp reaction from some of the delegates, who acused the Krakow delegation and the chair of deliberate manipulaiton. The supporters of socialism became social democrats. The specter of a split became possible. The national Trade Union Accord, OPZZ, delegation threatened to leave the hall.

After an exceptionally sharp and stormy debate, it was, however, recognized that it is necessary to vote again on the program declaration, along with the amendment on democratic socialism, in a somewhat tempered in form. The first point of this declaration reads: Our supreme value is Poland, which we serve; we recognize the will of the nation, expressed in democratic and proportional elections, as the only source of authority. The second point: We want Poland to be the homeland of a people who are free, equal, in solidarity with a state in social justice; we tie its future to democratic socialism.

Voting took place, but it later turned out that it was not clear whether the declaration had been accepted with the qualifying majority of votes cast, and voting again had to take place. The program declaration was finally passed.

I read for you a moment ago its first point. After the acceptance of the declaration, Aleksander Kwasniewski proposed the course of the discussion on adopting the name of the new party. He straight away declared that it would not at all be easier than the adoption of the program declaration.

The discussion in fact ended just a moment ago—in fact just seconds ago. It could be that in a few moments time we will find out what the new party of the left is called. But I will have to tell you about this in about 40 minutes.

Further on Program Debate

LD2801233790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2240 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Here is our reporter from the Congress Hall on the latest events at the congress:

[Reporter] Good evening, at 2300, after a stormy debate, the (?program) was adopted. [passage omitted with portions indistinct]

As a result of the voting, which began at 2325, there has appeared on the political stage the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, SDRP, or of the Polish Republic, for this must yet be established.

After this there was discussion on the name of this party. Again, doubts were expressed in the voting, precisely over the party's name, that is, is it the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [socjaldemokracja rzeczypospolitej polski] or of the Polish Republic [socjaldemokracja rzeczpospolitej polski]? Experts on terminology have yet to express themselves. In any case, the party of the new left already has a name. A moment ago, a break in the deliberations of the founding congress of the SDRP was announced. After the break, this evening the 11th [Polish United Workers Party, PZPR] congress is to resume deliberations. Regarding the situation of [word indistinct] of the new party, which is to be the descendent of the PZPR, the PZPR is to hand over its assets. A night-long marathon is thus envisaged.

New Party Adopts Program

LD2801231490 Warsaw PAP in English 2255 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 28—Our foremost value is Poland, which we serve. We see the will of the nation, expressed in democratic and proportional elections, as the only source of power, state the first words of the programmatic declaration of a new party adopted after many hours [of] heated discussion during the founding congress today.

The five-page declaration reads in part: "We want Poland to be a motherland of free, equal people, bound by Solidarity, a state of social justice. We tie her future with democratic socialism."

The declaration also refers to economic issues, Poland's place in Europe and the world, and cooperation of the new party with, among others, social democratic and socialist parties, affiliated in the Socialist International. The declaration also includes the wish for cooperation with the trade union movement, including the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ and "Solidarnosc."

Social Democratic Union on Aims

LD2901013990 Warsaw PAP in English 0020 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 28—"We are not interested in the property of the former PUWP [Polish United Workers Party, PZPR]," said Piotr Radzikowski, one of the organisers of the movement named Social Democratic Union of the Republic of Poland during an initiative group's meeting here tonight.

The establishment of the union, announced by its initiator Tadeusz Fiszbach, will probably take place during several weeks following the founding congress. The announcement of a programmatic declaration is planned for Monday, January 29, in the course of the new party's congress.

The difference between both social democratic groupings lies in the existence, aside other streamlines, of a Christian one stressed by the union—an idea of social solidarity taught in the church.

In its resolution, the congress of the PUWP condemned punishiments for political views which were practiced in the past and annuled such party punishments as groundless. The congress treated this resolution as a compensation for those wronged.

Polish Left Party Congress Proceedings

LD2801203690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1810 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Report on 28 January session of the founding congress of the "New Party of the Polish Left" by unidentified correspondent—passages in quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] The founding congress of the new Party of the Polish Left resumed its deliberations at 0900. Before the main debate, Marek Borowski from Warsaw informed the delegates of the results of the work of the group of the Social-Democratic bloc, which held a meeting last night to discuss the situation at the congress. The group, led by a feeling of responsibility, decided to take part in further discussion, together with all other delegates.

A debate then began on the draft ideological declaration of the new party. Speaking about the draft of this document Hieronim Kubiak from Krakow said:

[Kubiak] "This declaration before us here, is the program- minimum for the identity of the political option, the minimal program. Here we cannot have a situation of perhaps removing something so that someone else might join in. I wish to state very clearly: We have already paid a definite price for such a party, within which allegedly everything can be fitted in. In this party, there have been many and there still are many, very honest people; there are people who are far away from this hall and who are listening attentively to find out what to do with themselves now. We are faced by people without party cards, people who never gained anything from it apart from the belief that perhaps this was the right way.

"So many honest people had this problem; yet for so many honest people the road was unsuccessful, after all. Does this not mean that the principles that supported that road were erroneous and did not check out in practice?

"I understand that there can be people for whom the option of communism is still valid. I understand and respect them, although I do not share such views. But let us not hide behind statements that there is social democracy, socialism, and the class option [as heard]. This is not loyal. Let us state clearly what is involved and on this basis let us see if it can all be put together.

"If the price for putting together those two very different options, that is the option of a Bolshevik party—I am not against this option when, historically speaking, it performed a certain role—but I am against [word indistinct] and the option of a party which without the vision of ultimate happiness, nevertheless, looks to help people living here and now—that is the social democratic option. If these two things cannot be reconciled together, then let us have the courage to say that they cannot be reconciled. Maybe then we shall be more honest in finding a common tongue, in the shape of an electoral alliance of both options, when such an alliance has to be entered into. But let us not construct something that cannot possibly exist. One cannot boil bouillon and tomato soup in the same pot simultaneously. Sorry, one cannot. This is simply an impossible action. [applause]

"That, dear comrades, is the reason for unity, but according to principles—not principles so constructed that everyone can fit inside, for that is not a [word indistinct] force, none, none at all. I opt for this declaration, without limitation, and I opt for a name for this party. I judge that one can only add one thing to the name proposed yesterday in the report by Comrade Rakowski. Our country, irrespective of the pain which we endured in the course of these changes, is our country. It is ruled by a Constitution established by our parliament; it is called the Polish Republic. Let our party be called the Social Democratic Party of the Polish Republic [SDRP]."

[Correspondent] And here are excerpts from the speech by Tadeusz Fiszbach.

[Fiszbach] "Poland is in need, in great need, and that is the most important thing. We should subserve all our thoughts to this during our meeting. In all respects, a new political and economic order is being born in our homeland. The essence and shape of this order will be decided by the whole of society, by all forces acting in its name and in its interest. The formation, or those formations that will arise out of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] in order to cocreate the new order (?on the basis of) social support and trust will not find even the best resolutions and declarations sufficient. Above all, one must operate among the people and understand what they desire, and thoroughly (?address) this, for the greatest value is man, his good, his individual fate.

"Without honesty there is no credibility. And that is why it is our elementary duty today to make a true assessment of the past of this party of which we are still members. I propose here a thorough approach as much in accordance with the truth as possible. I think that if we do seek to bring ourselves thoroughly to account for the past 41 years we will be dishonest, and we will cheat others, which, as a result, will lead to the political suicide of all of us. I propose that, leaving a full and objective assessment of the PZPR to history, we should today clearly, openly, and without beating about the bush, say that the PZPR, from its beginning, was disloyal to many leftist ideals and values, which was revealed in subsequent political and economic crises.

"As a child and, at the same time, a victim of Stalinism, the PZPR was, until 1956, a merciless tool for enslaving Poles. In 1948, the forced incorporation of the PPS [Polish Socialist Party] gave birth to a sequence of distortions which, in fact, continued until the 10th plenum's attempt to meet the challenges of reality at the 9th extraordinary party congress.

"Let us also face the truth and admit that the tragedy of martial law and its consequences could not have happened if it had not been a priori accepted that in reality there is no room for Solidarity. For many months there was a possibility of reaching agreement and it was up to the leading circles of the party and the state to make use of that possibility. It was they who had the key to the situation in the country, irrespective of the very unfavorable external conditions which had an overwhelming impact. I also took part in talks with Suslov at the time, and with others, and explained, using Gdansk as an example, that cooperation with the newly founded trade union movement, Solidarity, was necessary and possible. This was not very popular, not only with Suslov.

"Let us also admit that in subsequent years the party was not able to take Poland out of the deep crisis and that at the same time it did everything so that Solidarity would perish forever. And let us finally openly tell the whole of society that it is, above all, our party which is responsible for the present extremely dramatic state of the country—a full testimony to the truth. These assessments are bitter and painful. I am aware of this because they concern me as well. I am fully aware that these are difficult words, perhaps even very difficult words, particularly to those who performed their party duties in the best of good faith, out of noble and patriotic motivation.

"Throughout the past years, millions of straightforward and honest people were and have been in the PZPR [word indistinct], who had no influence—because they could not have any influence—on the policies of the successive leaderships. And just now, I shall openly say that is worrying me today, here in this hall. At times things unfortunately resemble the worst practices of the past; and it would seem that today everyone wants democracy so much—against monopolies, against the domination by some over others. Let's listen to our views, let's seek wise, optimal solutions, let's respect each other, otherwise nobody will respect us."

[Correspondent] Tadeusz Fiszbach's address provoked many delegates to reply and to ask questions. The one most often heard was: Why can one not envisage a single party of the left, which would be established during the congress? Speaking on this issue, Tadeusz Fiszbach stated that his actions during the congress are not meant to break up the party. The party, he said, has been broken up for a dozen or so years, but its successive leaderships that did not want to accept this. He also said that he had not been directed by any personal motives and that he was also able to take a stand in this matter.

Aleksander Kwasnieweski was one of the subsequent speakers.

[Kwasniewski] "I do not advocate unity at all costs. On the contrary, in a moment I shall be advocating something completely different, but only for the reason that we are honet to each other, that we are honest to those social groups we represent, to the delegates and to those proposals which will be submitted. I think that if there is need today, if we cannot find social democrats with whom I identify myself and whom I greatly respect, and whose presence in this party which will be formed in his hall as a result of the discussion of all delegates, is also a condition of my presence. [sentence as heard] I speak with absolute conviction that if we think that we cannot reach such a compromise, that if we consider it impossible, if, really, all those who are today against the ideas included in these documents want to join, then it will be a continuation of this [word indistinct] spectacle.

"Therefore, I appeal [word indistinct] that these documents, that this programmatic discussion be approached with complete honesty, with full wisdom, and the conviction that we are not about to form another hybrid, or another party, which would be busy primarily looking for some internal compromise by means of internal persuasion. Therefore, there should be, perhaps, two or three wisely divided parties, which cooperate with each other, but parties which will have their own identity, which will find their base and represent it, and which will be able to communicate with each other. But all this will have to be done on the basis of those documents which have been prepared with great effort, which have been submitted, with which the delegates are acquainted, and which should constitute the basis to our actions. Finally, I make my appeal because perhaps in the past there was too much of all this, maybe we are burdened with it too much, maybe this period of purging it is necessary.

"Maybe we really have to [word indistinct]. Maybe. Only I would like to hear arguments from all those who have their own views, who do not accept that which is written down, and I should like to hear a real discussion the subject of the name—(social democratic socialist—

whereby we would now that this is not solely and exlusively a patched-up job, but that this is new [word indistinct], a new way of thinking, and an activity with which we can go out to society."

[Correspondent] After the break, Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the Statute Commission, presented to the delegates the draft statute of the new party of an as yet undecided name. He stressed that this statute breaks with the doctrines of democratic centralism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and socialist internationalism in force hitheto. It contains the guarantees of full intraparty democracy and possibilities of functioning for various political and program platforms. In accordance with the draft, the authorities of the future party will be the congress, the Supreme Council, and also the Central Executive Committee headed by the general secretary. The only limitation to the activity of political and program platforms is the statute of the party. According to the draft, there is to be full unity between the functioning of the party and its parliamentary representation. Aleksander Kwasniewski suggested that a number of proposals for the name of the new party be voted upon. In the case of the congress choosing the socialist option, the Socialist Party of Poland [SPP] and also the Socialist Party of Working People [SPLP] would be possible. The choice of a social-democratic option brings such names as the Social-Democratic Party of Poland [SDPP], the Social- Democracy of the Republic of Poland [SDRP], the Social-Democracy of the Republic [SDR]. After the discussion a vote was held on the draft statute of the new party.

[Unidentified speaker] "We move to the vote. Who, friend and comrade delegates of the congress, is for the acceptance of the statute whose draft was presented and discussed a few minutes ago? For—1,402 votes." [applause]

[Correspondent] After the endorsement of the statute and after the break, the delegates discussed the draft of the program declaration. The discussion went with difficulty, the delegates quarrelled among themselves. In the light of this, a minute ago a break was announced. For the time being, the first point of the program declaration has been resolved: our supreme value is Poland and we serve it. As the only source of power we recognize the will of the nation as expressed in democratic and proportional elections. The discussion and disputes revolved around the word socialism. In the draft declaration this word is not used. After the vote this word will, however, most probably, be incorporated in the declaration.

A short reflection on the course of the discussion so far: there were a considerable number of voices during the congress saying that the party had lost social trust and that people no longer believe in it. Aleksander Kwasniewski said that social trust, if it be possible at all, will be regained by the new party significantly later than the optimists think. The future of the party of the left is for now in the mist.

Roundup of Congress

LD2901034890 Warsaw PAP in English 0210 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 28—The founding congress, which continued its debates here Sunday, founded a new party of the Polish left, the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic. The congress adopted the new party's statute and the programmatic declaration.

Late in the night, delegates adopted a resolution to resume the debates of the 11th PUWP [Polish United Workers Party, PZPR] Congress aimed to end the functioning of the PUWP or her dissoluation.

On Sunday, the delegates met at 9 a.m.

Discussion

The discussion began from presentation of results of the social democratic bloc's work which gathered last night to review the situation at the congress. The necessity of such a meeting stemmed from the fact that a part of the participants in the congress disfavoured social democratic idea. The meeting was also told that the group of the social democratic bloc, guided by the sense of responsibility, decided to further decide about the character of the future party together with all the delegates.

Chairman of this part of the debate Tadeusz Popiela from Krakow apologized to Tadeusz Fiszbach for the fact that his statement for the press was presented on Saturday as a statement to the congress. He also said that Fiszbach was taking part in the congress debate today.

In the course of the debate on the draft declaration of the new party a concern was expressed that the defining it as a strictly social democratic party would make it difficult for the party to appear in the countryside where 40 per cent of electorate live.

Tadeusz Fiszbach's Statement

If only one party of the left will be created I will not join its ranks, said Fiszbach. With out honesty and creditbility the left does not have any prospects. We must openly say that the PUWP departed from its ideals. From the beginning of its existence to the year 1956, it was a merciless instrument of coercing the Polish people.

Fiszbach also said that: It was possible to avoid the tragedy of imposing martial law. I took part in talks with Suslov and others in the begining of the 1980's. I explained that one has to wisely cooperate with Solidarnosc. The party did a lot to destroy Solidarnosc and the union's prestige after martial law.

We must also admit that it is us who are responsible for the current state of the country. At the same time one cannot forget that there are tens of thousands of honest people in the party who did not have influence on the course of developments.

The speaker said that accusations were made against him during the congress that he intends to build a party on a leash held by Solidarnosc and for that reason he was subjected to manipulations. However, I must say that I do not change them and do not have to do it. I met with Walesa for the first time a dozen or so years ago.

Thus it is not for me to evalute effects of my meetings before the the "round table" and elections. However, I am of the opinion that there is still enough place on the Polish political arena and this is a great chance for us, as well as a chance for restoration of stability in Poland. The possibility of agreement is open, much can be still saved, said Fiszbach.

Fiszbach also explained why he had not participated in the debates of the first day of the congress. I did not leave the hall, he said, I simply did not enter it to attend the debates.

This drew rejoinders and questions from many delegates. The most often repeated question to Fiszbach was why he did not want to be a member of a single, united party of the Polish left which was to emerge during the congress.

In his reply Fiszbach said his activity at the congress was not an attempt to split the party. The party, he said, has been split for dozens of years but its successive leaderships had not wanted to accept this. He also said that his attitude is not influenced by personal reasons and that he is able to take a stance also on this subject.

Aleksander Kwkasniewski from Warsaw underscored that if a split into several left wing parties was necessary, then it should be made in a wise way, on the absis of substantive criteria. One must not defend unity at all costs. However, this object will not be achieved either by a split into several groupings or exclusion of anybody from the future ranks.

Draft Statute

In the afternoon the statute of the new party was adopted. It breaks away with hitherto doctrines of democratic centralism.

A member of the new party representing the party in the representative and state authorities is accountable before the party. The party does not give up its presence in work establishments, it is going to set up its circles in places of residence. The congress, Supreme council with its chairman, and Central Executive Committee led by the general secretary, are the supreme authorities of the party. The statute of the party is the only limitation for the activities of the political and programme platforms of the party.

Programme Declaration

An acute dispute broke out during a discussion on the draft programme declaration of a new party of the Polish left, concerning the political character of the future party. The dispute boiled down to whether the party be social democratic or socialist.

By a qualified majority of votes the congress adopted a programme declaration of the new party. It says that to serve Poland is the overriding value of the new party and the will of the nation expressed in democratic and proportional elections is the only source of power.

We want Poland to be a homeland of free, equal people bounded by solidarity, to be a state of social justice. We link its future to democratic socialism.

In the chapter of the declaration titled "economy and social justice", the founders of the new party come out in favour of making use in Poland of economic principles tested in the world, in favour of market economy with elements of state interventionism and social responsibility.

The new party is guided by aspirations and strivings of people of work, be it manual or intellectual. It affiliates all who identify themselves with its programme irrespective of their outlook on life.

Before the gathering chose the name of the party it had determined the option within which the name could be fitted. The choice were a social democratic and socialist options and the name which included the word "work". In the first vote the delegates favoured the social democratic option. Then they had to pick one of the following names: social democracy of republic of poland, social democratic party of poland, social democracy of the republic. An overwhelming majority voted in favour of the first name.

Conclusion of Activity of PUWP

Shortly after midnight, on Monday, January 20, the congress of the Social Democracy of Republic of Poland adjorned and resumed the debates of the 11th PUWP Congress. The debates were led by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski.

The delegates adopted a resolution in which they condemned the punishment for political views, applied in the past. There were many such cases in the PUWP history, reads the resolution. Today we are not able to fully redress harm. Therefore, approaching those whom harm was made, we ask them to accept those words as a moral satisfaction. At the same time we state that the 11th congress annuls all the party penalties inflicted for political views as groundless.

The delegates also adopted a resolution of the 11th congress on handing the PUWP assets to the new party, the Social Democracy of Republic of Poland. Also, it passed a resolution ending the activity of the PUWP.

In the end of the congress Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski said that the PUWP played a great historic role.

"Ending the activity of this party today, we close a certain chapter of the revolutionary workers' movement.

Human dignity and honesty should protect us from giving only negative judgements on this party," Rakowski said.

Rakowski announced the end of the PUWP congress. The banner of the party was taken out of the congress hall in silence.

The last 1st secretary of the PUWP Central Committee was thanked by a traditional "may you live a 100 years" song.

The founding congress of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland resumed its debate before 02:00 hrs today and began setting principles of elections to the party authorities.

Jaruzelski Willing To Join New Party

LD2901111190 Warsaw PAP in English 1034 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 29—The TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA, a new daily which substituted the former organ of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party, PZPR] Central Committee the TRYBUNA LUDU, carried today President Wojciech Jaruzelski's statements during talks with delegates to the 11th PUWP Congress and the founding congress of the new party.

Asked whether he would join the new party, the president of the Polish Republic and member of the already dissolved PUWP replied:

"If you want me, then I will join the party. I always voiced my sympathies to the red color, and I never got off the red tram. Thus, I would join it, however suspending party membership for the time of fulfilling the post of the president. The most important is the weal of Poland," said Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Miodowicz Meets Social Democracy Delegates

LD2901123390 Warsaw PAP in English 1140 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 29—Chairman of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ Alfred Miodowicz met during a break directly after the creation of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic with a group of delegates, members of the "agreement for working people" here yesterday.

Addressing the delegates Miodiwicz said: We will be on the same road with every party which programme includes care and protection of the well-being of the working people, whether it will be Tadeusz Fiszbach's Social Democratic Union or the Social Democracy sponsored by the July 8th Movements. We must undertake a decision defining our stand in the current situation, in which the centre and forces to the right of it are clearly visible, while an emptiness appeared on the left.

The struggle for the party will not be decided in offices, but at the bottom, at production halls, thus to a greater degree in trade unions, for the party is no longer present in work places, the base is in our hands, stressed Miodowicz.

Demonstrators Dispersed Outside PZPR Congress

LD2701183690 Warsaw PAP in English 1626 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 27—At 4 p.m. today the delegates to the 11th PUWP [Polish United Workers Party, PZPR] Congress could see from the lobby of their congress hall a demonstration staged in front of the building against the PUWP.

About a thousand demonstrators, mainly from the Independent Students Union and the Fighting Solidarity, shouted "down with commune" and similar slogans.

From stands with red and white and red flags near the congress hall the demonstrators pulled out the red ones and burnt them.

The banners read, among other things, "the proletarians of all countries switch off."

A large group of militamen dispersed the demonstration.

Militia Disperse Sczcecin PZPR 'Funeral'

LD2701223190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Roman Kelarek report from Szczecin]

[Text] The organizers of an action announced for today, specifically, the burning of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] voivodship committee building in Szczecin, were obviously not in agreement. As a result, some of the onlookers and some of those wanting to take part in the so-called party funeral turned up at 1300 [1200 GMT] and some at 1500. The event was held under the aegis of Fighting Solidarity, the Front of Fighting Youth, and Direct Action.

The crowd of around 800 people placed a tasteful black coffin near the entrance of the voivodship committee building, with the slogan: PZPR, and a banner reading: "The funeral of the party."i

Later, demonstrators moved to the headquarters of the voivodship internal affairs office, where they threw stones, Molotov cocktails, and percussion grenades. A number of Molotov cocktails exploded on the balconies of the first and second floors. The demonstrators chanted: "Give back the building."

Special units of the militia then intervened, and the crowd, mostly teenagers, dispersed. Direct force was not used. Nine people were detained.

150 Youths Occupy Gdansk PZPR Headquarters

AU2801153490 Paris AFP in English 1514 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Gdansk, Poland, Jan 28 (AFP)—A crowd of young Poles belonging to an anti-communist radical group, forced their way Sunday into the regional headquarters of the Polish communist party in Gdansk, an AFP correspondent said.

More than 150 young people, most of them still at school, went straight from mass to the offices of the Polish Unified Workers' Party [PUWP] near the shipyards. The youths said they wanted to "safeguard files" from possible destruction by corrupt party officials.

Shouting "Jaruzelski must resign" and "Down with the communists", they broke down the door to get into the building. "The communists must be made to answer for what they did," the demonstrators said, adding that they "wanted to stop the PUWP burning its files".

Several communist-party offices have been occupied in various parts of Poland by young opposition militants who are pressing for a redistribution of communist party assets.

Further on Gdansk Unrest

LD2801230190 Warsaw PAP in English 2235 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Gdansk, Jan. 28—After the mass held at St. Brigid Church here, a group of young people of the Federation of Fighting Youth [OKP] marched towards the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party, PZPR] voivodship committee building here under the slogan "youth will square accounts with the party."

A sizable group of onlookers watched approvingly as the youths tore off iron bars and removed the door to the building, rushed inside and declared they would occupy the premises until they were handed over for use by educational or health service institutions.

There were no militia present during the break-in. The first militiamen arrived on the spot only several hours later, did not enter the building or take any action.

In the afternoon, the mayor of Gdansk Jerzy Pasinski came for talks with the intruders. They demanded that a committee be formed that would make an inventory list of all the "seized property."

The talks lasted till late evening, with two Sejm OKP deputies present inside the building for some hours, reporters were not let inside.

Gdansk Mayor Pasnicki conveyed a message from Prime Minister Mazowiecki to the occupying group in which the P.M. demanded they leave the building. The group were warned they would be forcibly removed if they failed to leave of their own accord.

We will stay inside, PAP reporter was told by Andrzej Czaplicki of the Independent Party Solidarnosc and Robert Stepniak of KPN [expansion unknown], until people competent to turn the building over for public use come to talk with us.

The society is not satisfied with setting up a government committee for political parties property, because this puts off making decisions, they added. We expect concrete and fast changes.

Police forces entered the building of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] committee in Gdansk occupied by the members of several political groups before midnight. Before entering, police warned those occupying the building and ordered them to voluntarily leave.

As there was no reaction, police forced the barricaded doors, checked identity cards of the leaders and led out all the participants of the action. No one was detained. After 10 hours the occupation of the building ended. The building is to be guarded by police till morning.

Youths Attack Krakow PZPR Headquarters

LD2801192390 Warsaw PAP in English 1822 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Krakow, Jan. 28—Soccer fans, some of them drunk, went on a rampage here today, destroying property and smashing all the windows in the building of the Soviet consulate.

Following the conclusion of a Cracovia versus Wisla football match of local teams, a group of teenage soccer fans, many of them drunk, started to march to the centre of the city, smashing car windscreens, windows in private apartment buildings and shops, destroying litter bins, benches, etc.

The rampaging youth broke windows in Jagellonian University buildings and in shops in the main market square of Krakow before they went to the building of the Soviet consular mission where they smashed all the windows and destroyed a militia sentry-box outside it.

The young hooligans also attacked the headquarters of the Krakow committee of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] before they were dispersed by militia forces.

KPN, 'Fighting Solidarity' Demonstrate in Poznan

LD2601215190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] The dissolution of the Security Service [SB], the settling of accounts with the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Poland, and the speeding up of free elections were some of the demands put forward during a demonstration organized by Fighting Solidarity and the KPN [Confederation for Independent Poland] on Plac Wolnosci in Poznan. The demonstrators went on to the building of the voivodship office for internal affairs on Kochanowski Street, where they were blocked by a police cordon. The demonstration, which had been peaceful until then, turned into a street scuffle. The area around Dabrowski Street (?and the Theater Bridge which is being repaired) became the next site of the disturbances.

3 Parties Call for 'Civilized' Demonstration

AU2701175590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] The leaderships of the National Peasants Party (Christian Democratic), the National Liberal Party, and the Social Democratic Party of Romania sent us the following communique:

To all honest people in the capital city and throughout the country:

As we also announced on the Free Romanian Television in its evening program on 26 January 1990, by consensus the legally constituted historical and traditional parties will organize a protest demonstration at 1200 hours [1000 GMT] on 28 January 1990 against the decision of the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] to run as a political formation in the general elections scheduled for 20 May 1990.

In accordance with the decree provisions, we announced this demonstration 48 hours in advance; hence, we do not need the Front's approval. The demonstration will take place under the conditions that we announced previously. We took note of the fact that other collectives are also organizing demonstrations. We are not aware of the nature of these demonstrations. We observe the right to express various opinions and ideologies, but we will not permit any provocations, nor the consumption of alcoholic beverages.

Although we consider the intention of organizing a counterdemonstration as a tendentious gesture. In case the two demonstrations intermix, we express the sincere desire to present our individual ideas in a civilized manner. We hope that our intentions will be understood. We will not allow ourselves to be drawn into acts of violence.

Participants, behave in a way that will earn everybody's esteem.

This communique is signed by the leaderships of the National Peasants Party (Christian Democratic), the National Liberal Party, and the Social Democratic Party of Romania.

Bucharest Mayor Refuses Approval

AU2701184590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] We received the following notification from the Bucharest City Hall, signed by Mr Dr Dan Predescu:

Following the communique issued by the three parties—the National Peasants' Party (Christian Democratic), the National Liberal Party, and the Social Democratic Party of Romania—concerning the organization of a demonstration at 1200 hours local time [1000 GMT] on 28 January 1990 to protest the decision of the Council of the National Salvation Front, the Bucharest City Hall states the following:

The organization and holding of this demonstration on the sole route asked for by the three parties has not been approved, because it runs counter to Article 2, Paragraph 4, of the Decree-Law on Public Meetings. Such a demonstration would disturb public transportation and endanger the safety of traffic.

The three parties can obtain approval for the organization and unfolding of the demonstration in one of the places established by the Decree-Law and in other places by observing the Decree stipulations.

If the three parties do not observe the stipulations of the aforementioned Decree-Law and go ahead with their demonstration, the organizers will assume all responsibility and will suffer all appropriate consequences.

We point out that approval for the organization of public meetings in Bucharest Municipality can only be granted by the capital's City Hall.

For the City Hall, the communication is signed by Mr Dr Dan Predescu.

Call for 'Workers, Young People's Rally'

AU2701211390 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 27 Jan 90

["Appeal by worker Dan Iosif," calling for a rally of "workers and young people" on 28 January—recorded]

[Text] We now present an appeal by worker Dan Iosif, taken from tonight's current events program on Free Romanian Television:

[Begin Dan Iosif recording] I do not think that I have to introduce myself. Those who were with me on the night of 21 December, during the whole day of 22 December, on the night of 22 December, and in the following days—that is, the workers and young people who defended the Palace Square from those evil people who were firing on us without mercy—you all know me, I do not have to say my name. On behalf of all those young people and workers, who, with their hands and chests, occupied the symbol of power in this country—the palace which sheltered the odious dictator—I want to call upon them all to come to (Banu Manta) Street, tomorrow at 1100 hours [0900 GMT], where we want to organize a rally, our rally, the rally of all workers and young people who lost friends, brothers, and sisters in those tragic days. [end recording]

Anti-NSF Demonstration Begins

AU2801134190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] At this time, on Victory Square, in front of the National Salvation Front [NSF] headquarters, thousands of people have gathered in two separate groups: NSF supporters, including representatives from large Bucharest enterprises; and representatives of some parties which oppose the Front's participation in the forthcoming elections.

The demonstration is proceeding peacefully.

Pro-NSF Demonstrators Gather

AU2801133990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] In front of the Town Hall of Bucahrest's Sector 1, on Banu Manta Boulevard, thousands of working people from large economic enterprises from Bucharest and the provinces gathered here in a big rally to freely express their opinions about the current political situation. Many representatives from such enterprises as Grivita Rosie, MGB [expansion unknown], FCSB [expansion unknown] Vulcan, CPADM [expansion unknown], (Domnesti), Bucharest CFR [Romanian Railways] branch, (?AZO) Mures, and so forth addressed the rally. They voiced the determination to vote for the National Salvation Front [NSF], adding that it should participate in the forthcoming free elections, along with other parties, in a democratic way.

They rejected any kind of outside interference, regardless of where it might come from, and spoke out for unity. They called upon all workers to work, defend the revolution, and honor those who gave their lives in the days of the revolution.

Peasants Party Statement, Communique

AU2801142090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 28 Jan 90

["Statement" by Gabrielescu, spokesman for the National Peasants Party (Christian Democratic) followed by announcer-read "communique" of the National Peasants Party (Christian Democratic); in Bucharest on 28 January—Gabrielescu portion live or recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Here is a statement from the National Peasants Party (Christian Democratic) [NPPCD] spokesman.

[Gabrielescu] Ladies and gentlemen, my name is Valentin Gabrielescu. I am the NPPCD spokesman. I would like to inform you about a few developments.

Negotiations took place yesterday between delegations of the three traditional parties—that is our party, the National Peasants Party [NPP], the National Liberal Party [NLP], and the Social Democratic Party [SDP] of Romania—and representatives of the National Salvation Front [NSF] and the government, that is with Mr Iliescu [Ion Iliescu, president of the NSF Council] and Mr Roman [Prime Minister Petre Roman]. The purpose of these negotiations was to find a mode of dialogue with the Front, with a view to fulfilling the three parties' requirements, namely that the NSF should abandon power monopoly and that a new council be set up, which we suggest be called the National Unity Council. This council should consist of representatives of all parties and of prominent personalities in our country, thus creating a provisional executive and legislative body until the elections.

The goal of our request is to ensure an equitable representation in this body, so as to guarantee its neutrality in this preelectoral period. The NSF representatives agreed that negotiations should be held. At the same time, we organized a demonstration to take place in Victory Square, in accordance with our wishes. The NSF did not grant us approval for such a demonstration in Victory Square. From the beginning we considered this position as undemocratic. Therefore, in the talks that we conducted late last night with the Front, the Front agreed to announce on the radio and television that it wishes to enter into a dialogue with us, the representatives of the three parties, provided that we renounce the Victory Square demonstration and that we demonstrate instead in University Square.

Late last night Messrs Roman and Iliescu made a statement to this extent on television, but we are not satisfied with their statement as they did not clearly state their position and the desire to form a Council of National Union, which should include representatives of all the parties. As usual, they spoke in an ambiguous way. Therefore, we consider their statement unsatisfactory. Consequently, our offer to limit ourselves to a demonstration in University Square no longer applies. This means that we intend to demonstrate on the Rossetti Square-Romana Square-Victory Square route, as initially planned.

Of course, this demonstration is not authorized. However, we assume responsibility for it. In a telephone conversation a few minutes ago between our president, Mr Corneliu Coposu, and Mr Iliescu, it has been decided that a delegation of the three parties now should be received at the Front's headquarters with a view to starting negotiations. Of course, no details can be worked out during such a meeting; however, one could establish, once and for all, the principle that the Front must abandon political power, the monopoly of power, and that a new body should be created. The details can be worked out later.

Consequently, at this very moment, the three parties have issued a joint statement, which is being typed right now. This statement will be immediately released to the press, radio, and television and will be made known to all the people in the following minutes. Of course, this statement will also be publicly presented in Victory Square.

We called on Mr Iliescu to take steps—we assured him of the fact that our demonstration will not be violent and that we will not tolerate any provocations—and we asked him to take steps to ensure that the other counter-demonstrations organized by the Front itself—we know that for sure, we even have proof of the fact that the Front has organized them—we urgently asked Mr Iliescu to take steps to avoid any clashes. [sentence as heard] We do not want violence or civil war. We want civilized and democratic discussions to achieve quiet and peace in our country, so that we can work and live somewhat better, we hope, than we have so far.

The moment the three parties' communique is typed, I will hand it over to you so that you can broadcast it.

[Announcer] From the NPPCD we received the following communique:

On the morning of 27 January a meeting took place at NSF Council headquarters between representatives of the NPP, NLP, SDP, and representatives of the NSF Council and the government. The meeting examined ways and means to harmonize the political situation in the country, thus marking the beginning of a constructive dialogue, which will continue.

After the leadership forums of the three parties examined the situation in separate meetings and later in a joint meeting, at 1900 [1700 GMT] the leadership of the Front and the government was informed that, for the continuation of negotiations, it is necessary to abandon the NSF monopoly of power and replace it with a Council of National Union, which should equitably include all political and democratic forces as well as prominent personalities in the country.

By making this request, our parties voiced the desire of our country's public opinion—workers, peasants, intellectuals, women, and particularly the young generation of students, pupils, and workers—to contribute to the country's recovery, under democratic conditions. The Front was supposed to make public its agreement with this request, through the mass media.

At 2230 [2030 GMT] the leaders of the Front and the government appeared on television with certain constructive news and proposals and indicated a certain amount of readiness to enter into indispensable negotiations in order to break the deadlock. However, their statements cannot be considered as going far enough. In order to achieve the aforementioned goal, it has been decided that the demonstration called for today Sunday 28 January 1990 should proceed peacefully and orderly along the announced route.

The NPPCD calls again on the Front and the government to show political maturity in examining and solving the situation. We require the authorities—the communique received from the NPPCD reads—to ensure the smooth holding of the demonstration and prevent any kind of provocations. We warmly call on all demonstrators to observe all the rules of a peaceful and civilized demonstration, without excesses and violence, in the most thoroughly democratic spirit, the communique concludes.

Demonstrators Shout Down Iliescu

AU2801150190 Paris AFP in English 1454 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 28 (AFP)—Hostile demonstrators broke through a troop cordon outside the headquarters of Romania's ruling National Salvation Front (NSF) here Sunday and threatened to enter the building. Eyewitnesses said that soldiers did not oppose the protestors, some of whom reached the steps of the Front headquarters shouting, "The army is with us."

Soldiers standing shoulder to shoulder, backed up by a dozen armoured vehicles, had cordoned off the Front's headquarters in Victory Square, packed with tens of thousands of demonstrators.

The mass rally was called by three opposition parties in defiance of a public ban on demonstrations issued by the Front on Thursday [25 January].

Protestors carried banners with the slogans: "We want a provisional government" and "Don't steal our revolution" and "Elections without the NSF."

Demonstrators climbed on to armoured vehicles and shouted down the Front president, Ion Iliescu, when he tried to address the crowd from a balcony of the headquarters.

A delegation of representatives from the opposition parties which called the protest, the Peasants' Party, the Liberal Party and the Social Democratic Party, entered the headquarters earlier to hold talks with Front leaders. They were still inside when the demonstrators broke through the troop cordon.

The three independent groups have called for the formation of a national coalition open to all parties ahead of the country's first free elections in four decades, scheduled for May 20.

NSF, Other Party Leaders Meet

AU2801154290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1456 GMT 28 Jan 90

["Round Table"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/1/1990—Upon requests from representatives of political parties present in the Piata Victoriei [Victory Square], a delegation of the National Salvation Front Council, consisting of President Ion Iliescu, Petre Roman and Cazimir Ionescu met in order to talk with them, a delegation of the National Peasant Party Christian and Democratic, led by Mr Corneliu Coposu, one of the National Liberal Party, led by Mr Radu Campeanu, and one of the Romanian Social Democratic Party, led by Mr Sergiu Cunescu. Afterwards the Front leadership will meet delegations from the other political parties.

The peaceful rally bringing together, as announced, some 8,000 people in Piata Victoriei, in the Romanian capital city continues.

Victory Square Rallies Described

AU2801160590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1428 GMT
28 Jan 90

["Rally in Bucharest"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/1/1428—A rally bringing together some 8,000 people was held in Piata Victoriei [Victory Square], in the Romanian capital city, Sunday at noon. Present were people working at large industrial enterprises including the manufacturer of heavy equipment Bucharest, "Semanatoarea," "Republica," "23 August," "Grivita Rosie," "Mecanica Fina" as well as representatives of enterprises of Tirgu Mures, Braila and other towns. They express support to the National Salvation Front Council.

Also manifesting in the Square were partisans of political parties who deny the legitimacy of the Front, the laws it worked out and its right to take part in the elections.

NSF Radio Call Summons Supporters

AU2801151590

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 1500 GMT on 28 January interrupts its pop music program with the following announcer-read announcement:

"We received the following appeal from the Council of the National Salvation Front: Those who support the National Salvation Front, the revolution, and democracy should come now to Victory Square." This announcement is repeated at 1503, 1506 GMT.

TV Urges NSF Supporters To Join Rally

AU2801184290 Paris AFP in English 1825 GMT
28 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 28 (AFP)—Romanian television Sunday broadcast appeals to viewers to go to Victory Square in central Bucharest to support the National Salvation Front (NSF).

A young man called on viewers to leave their television sets, which was due to show a live soccer match, to go to the aid of the NSF which was, he said, "in danger".

Meanwhile on the square tens of thousands of demonstrators called for the ruling body to resign.

Around 7 p.m. (1900 GMT) a group of about 40 supporters of the NSF arrived bearing placards backing the front. But more demonstrators hostile to the NSF arrived there at the same time.

Disturbances could be seen in the midst of the crowd, where tension was mounting, amid unconfirmed rumours of scuffling between the two camps.

Two small groups of NSF supporters were forced to retreat on a armoured car and a truck. The truck inched its way through the mass of people gathered before ranks of soldiers guarding the NSF headquarters.

Shortly before, a representative of the Liberal Party appeared on the balcony of the building to give an assurance that talks were under way with a view to forming a coalition government.

Loudspeakers then began playing the national anthem "Wake up Romania", which was banned under the regime of Nicolae Ceausescu ousted last month.

Corneliu Coposu, leader of National Peasant Party, also addressed the demonstrators, asking them to show patience and wait until the opposition's demands were satisfied.

Iliescu, Roman TV Appeal for Roundtable

AU2801155790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0500 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] In statements made last night on television, Mr Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] and Mr Petre Roman, prime minister of Romania, appealed for a lucid approach to the problems facing us and said that, as has been the case to date, one should further strive to avoid violent confrontations which could harm our public life and socioeconomic activity.

In order to clarify everybody's stand and find ways and means to reach mutual agreement, a meeting was held yesterday with representatives of the three parties, that is with Mrssr Corneliu Coposu of the National Peasants Party; Radu Campeanu, of the National Liberal Party; and Sergiu Cunescu, of the Social Democratic Party. For more than 3 hours, the sides exchanged views on mutually acceptable means of avoiding a violent confrontation, which would be a real danger at this time. The three parties' leaders said that they also want to avoid such an escalation at this time.

The three parties believe that the destabilization of the NSF, as a factor of state power at this time, would lead to destabilization and chaos throughout the country, which cannot be in anyone's interest. We hope that the three parties will observe their pledges in this respect. As far as we are concerned, we will stick to our commitments, Mrssrs Ion Iliescu and Petre Roman said.

In connection with the need to clarify the Front's functions and its participation [presumably in the elections], they said that the Front will work out a platform-program, which will present in greater detail its positions and options as well as the nature of this movement. In connection with the confusion prevailing among the members of the national and local NSF councils regarding the fielding of candidates for the elections, Mrssrs Iliescu and Roman said that candidates can only run as representatives of the collectives that choose them; hence, it does not follow that those who are currently members of a council will necessarily be the future candidates as well.

After talking about measures taken to include in the government various personalities of the political parties, Mrssrs Iliescu and Petre Roman discussed matters pertaining to the draft electoral law which has already been shown to the parties. The first discussion of this draft law took place yesterday, when the sides agreed to hold weekly and fortnightly meetings with representatives of all parties, so that the final form of the electoral law has the consensus of all political forces.

After referring to the prerogatives of the future parliament, which will operate as a constituent Assembly called upon to work out and adopt the country's new constitution, the two said that the problem of financing the activity of all parties will be solved by 1 February. The sides also agreed to continue their dialogue, so as to reach full agreement in subsequent negotiations.

The constructive spirit that characterized the discussions at yesterday's roundtable should lay the foundation for future fruitful cooperation and should contribute to lessening tension and confrontation in the country's political life.

As already mentioned, Mrssrs Ion Iliescu and Petre Roman appealed for a lucid approach to problems facing us and asked that, as has been the case to date, one should avoid violent confrontations, which could harm our public life and socioeconomic activity. Such confrontations have nothing in common with democracy. The only valid result is the one arising from competition in free and equal elections for all political formations and parties. The elections will confer legitimacy and right of expression and representation on all formations running in the forthcoming elections. Until then, the legitimacy of not only the Front, but also of all political formations is doubtful.

The people's sovereignty will decide on the representative character, value, and authority of various political formations and figures.

Iliescu Calls Opposition 'Not Loyal'

AU2801164990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1608 GMT 28 Jan 90

["National Salvation Front Council President's Address on the Radio and Television"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/1/1990—Making an address on the Romanian radio and television stations Sunday in the afternoon, the president of the National Salvation Front Council [NSF], Ion Iliescu, underscored that the meeting at the NSF headquarters the previous day with representatives of the National Peasants' Party, the National Liberal Party and the Social Democratic Party resulted in a platform of agreement on all problems, on the way in which the dialogue with these parties, with other political parties and groupings should continue so as to jointly find appropriate solutions to avoid confrontations and establish a framework for bilateral and multilateral negotiations. In keeping with those established at the aforementioned meeting, Ion Iliescu stated, we made yesterday a statement on the Free Romanian Television on such a dialogue and the ways of continuing it, following that the representatives of the other parties to the talks set forth their own considerations. It is with deep regret that we have noticed that instead of such conclusions, of such a way of approaching questions we have to face an attempt of pressure exercised by the leaders of the three parties, Ion Iliescu further said.

Referring to the fact that these parties staged a demonstration in Piata Universitatii [University Square] in Bucharest Sunday at noon and that a similar demonstration was staged by enterprises of the Capital City in another square Banu Manta, the NSF Council president mentioned that the participants in the former demonstration made for Piata Victoriei [Victory Square] where those in the latter also came. Expressing his hope that the demonstrations would proceed in a peaceful atmosphere, without violent confrontations, the NSF Council president specified that participants in the two demonstrations discussed successively with Premier Petre Roman. Ion Iliescu showed he was suprised by the fact that one of the leaders of the National Peasants' Party, Corneliu Coposu, made a press statement which "goes beyond the spirit of our discussions and of the conclusions we reached." The NPP [National Peasants Party] leader said: "We made this demonstration to demand the National Salvation Front to disolve and surrender the political power to a provisional government which should lead the country till the general elections." Such a statement the NSF Council president assessed, violates all our understandings, the spirit of our dialogue and conclusions, it disagrees to its own assessments made at yesterday's meeting during which the representatives of the three parties themselves said they did not want confrontation and destabilization, that they realized it was a time when to destabilize the National Salvation Front meant to cause national destabilization, and they had no interest to undermine the Front's activity, they wanted to support it. President Ion Iliescu also mentioned that the representatives of the three parties agreed that the dialogue could not be limited to the participants in the previous day's meeting as it should involve the representatives of all the existing political parties and groupings to jointly find forms and ways of collaboration. The speaker called attention on the fact that the manner used by the three political parties in approaching such questions was illustrative of how elementary democratic rules of relations, dialogue, negotiations and even confrontations, yet political confrontations and not measures of pressure and confrontation, were disconsidered. The way chosen by the three political parties was not loyal, Ion Iliescu also said, stating that they would never accept such pressures would not surrender before any kind of pressure. "We are open to continue the dialogue with representatives of the three parties, and we call on them to maintain a spirit of cooperation," the NSF Council president said in conclusion.

Demonstrators' Reaction to Iliescu

AU2801201590 Paris AFP in English 1957 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 28 (AFP)—Romania's acting President Ion Iliescu, addressing tens of thousands of demonstrators surrounding the headquarters of the ruling National Salvation Front (NSF), called Sunday for talks with the opposition.

He invited leaders of opposition parties to join a "dialogue" with the Front after demonstrators broke through a police cordon and massed around the front's headquarters demanding the resignation of the provisional government.

They booed and hissed when Mr Iliescu asked them to leave Victory Square in front of the Front's headquarters, and seemed unmoved when he said: "We are not hungry for power and we don't want to impose ourselves by force". But the demonstrators called for the Front, which took power last month as executed president Nicolae Ceausescu was forced from power, to step down in favour of a coalition open to all parties. "Democracy now, not in 20 years," demonstrators chanted. Some called for the resignation of Front ideology chief Silviu Brucan, calling him a "Stalinist."

The rally was called by three opposition parties, the Peasants' Party, the Liberal Party and the Social Democratic Party, in defiance of a ban on public demonstrations issued by the Front on Thursday.

Mr Iliescu told the demonstrators, who carried banners reading "Don't Steal our Revolution" and "Elections Without the Front", that the elections, due to be held in May, would decide the composition of the next government.

"We have invited all parties to open next Thursday an open political dialogue ... We do not wish to take the path of adventure and provocation," he said. "We want to keep the door open for cooperation, so that all honest forces can unite in the struggle for progress."

Meanwhile Romanian television broadcast appeals to viewers to go to Victory Square to support the Front. A young man called on viewers to leave their television sets, although a live soccer match was about to be broadcast, and come to the aid of the NSF which was, he said, "in danger".

A group of about 40 supporters of the NSF arrived at the square bearing placards backing the Front. But more demonstrators hostile to the NSF arrived at the same time. Disturbances could be seen in the midst of the crowd, where tension was mounting, amid unconfirmed rumours of scuffling between the two camps.

Earlier a group of between 200 to 300 NSF supporters had broken through the police cordon along with the thousands of protesters, but no fighting was reported. Two small groups of NSF supporters, however, were forced to retreat in a armoured car and a truck. The truck inched its way through the mass of people gathered before ranks of soldiers guarding the NSF headquarters.

Shortly before, a Liberal Party representative appeared on the balcony of the building to give an assurance that talks were under way with a view to forming a coalition government.

Loudspeakers then began playing the national anthem "Wake up Romania", which was banned under the regime of Nicolae Ceausescu ousted last month.

Corneliu Coposu, leader of the National Peasant Party, also addressed the demonstrators, asking them to show patience and wait until the opposition's demands were satisfied.

The demonstration was called by the three independent parties, which were Romania's main political forces before the communists took power after World War II. They have called for the formation of a national coalition open to all parties ahead of the country's first free elections in four decades, scheduled for May 20.

A spokesman for the Peasants' Party, Valentin Gabrielescu said: "We want a new council, which is not in communist hands, in place of the Front, which we see as just another communist party. We want this council to be a totally neutral body, which will be in a position to organise free elections." He said the independent parties condemned the Front's "betrayal" in deciding to field candidates in the May 20 elections.

Mr Gabrielescu said Mr Iliescu and Prime Minister Petre Roman had not given a clear answer to their demands for a new coalition. "It was just the usual fine words without any substance, we want a proper reply, and unless we get one, we will carry on demonstrating every day in Victory Square."

Mr Roman appealed on television on Saturday night [27 January] for calm and urged political groups to avoid violence, which could have "unforseen consequences."

Mr Iliescu gave assurances that the Front did not intend to monopolise power as the opposition alleged and declared it was open to dialogue.

Iliescu Criticizes Opposition

AU2801195190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1215 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Speech by Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of the National Salvation Front, on Romanian radio and television stations, in Bucharest on 28 January—live]

[Text] [Announcer] Present in the studio is Mr Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF].

[Iliescu] Esteemed citizens: Last night, together with Prime Minister Petre Roman, I made a televised statement on the talks conducted yesterday with representatives of the three parties, Mr Coposu, of the National Peasants Party; Mr Campeanu, of the National Liberal Party; and Mr Cunescu, of the Social Democratic Party.

I do not want to repeat what I said before, but, as I stated then, and this still applies—after all, we tackled delicate and serious problems of the current political situation and circumstances—the end result of those talks, which proceeded in a constructive atmosphere, was that we came to the joint conclusion that a dialogue has become possible. Actually, we reached an understanding on all problems—that is, on the way in which we should continue our dialogue and the dialogue with other parties and political formations, with a view to jointly finding appropriate solutions, avoiding confrontations, and establishing an adequate framework for consecutive negotiations at a bilateral and multilateral level. The ultimate goal is to find an appropriate solution to all problems currently under discussion.

Following the agreements jointly reached, we pledged to make public the spirit in which the we conducted our talks and reached our conclusions. We discussed two alternatives. We even discussed the possibility of appearing together on television—that is, the representatives of the three parties and ourselves, in order to jointly present our discussions at a roundtable. There was a second alternative, because of a certain amount of reticence from one of the participants—namely, that we should come forth with our assessments, and they with theirs. Of course, the idea was that we have reached a common assessment and agreement about the constructive spirit of our discussions and common conclusions on the way in which to continue our dialogue and the dialogue with other parties and on the way in which we should tackle certain problems that arose during the talks.

We have fully kept our pledge. As you know, last night we presented our assessments. I would like to tell you that last night after the television broadcast I had a talk with Mr Campeanu and this morning I had another talk with Mr Campeanu and Mr Coposu, who thought that our presentation was quite objective and that it faithfully rendered the spirit and contents of our discussions. They said that they considered our presentation very good, contributing to a slackening of tension, and added that, on this basis, we have really paved the way for dialogue and cooperation. Mr Campeanu said that he is preparing concrete proposals for our bilateral cooperation, which we welcomed. Mr Coposu did not commit himself to anything concrete, but said that he shared the same positive assessments. We said that we expected to see them on television, too, as previously agreed, so that they can state these assessments and opinions on our discussions and on the future course of our dialogue and cooperation. We regret to have to note that, instead of these conclusions and of this mode of approaching things, we are now faced with pressure from them.

As you know, there was the question of the demonstration planned by the three parties. They said they would organize it in the University Square, because a similar demonstration organized by certain Bucharest enterprises was scheduled to take place in the Banu Manta Boulevard. The goal was to avoid having the two groups of demonstrators meet and clash with each other. Thus, just this morning Mr Coposu and Mr Campeanu assured us that they would take appropriate steps and that, in the newly created conditions, this can be done. But now we are confronted with the fact that the respective column of demonstrators proceeded to Victory Square. Learning about this, the people in Banu Manta went there, too, and now the participants in both demonstrations are in the Victory Square. We hope that things will proceed quietly and no violent confrontations will take place. We called on both sides to abstain from such things and currently a delegation of each of the two demonstrations has been invited to the palace to have talks with Mr Petre Roman.

However, what surprised me most—and this is the reason I now find myself in front of the cameras—is that, on his way to the palace, Mr Coposu made a press statement which exceeds the spirit of our discussions and of the conclusions reached. Here is Mr Coposu's statement. He said: We organized this demonstration to ask the NSF to dissolve itself and turn over political power to a provisional government which will supervise the general elections. Such a statement is a violation of all our understandings, a violation of the spirit of our dialogue and conclusions, and runs counter to their own assessments made at our meeting, where they said that they do not want confrontation and destabilization, realizing that to destabilize the NSF at this time is tantamount to causing national destabilization.

They said themselves that it is not in their interest to undermine the Front's activity and that they want to support it. Mr Campeanu even indicated his desire—that is, the desire of his party, the Liberal Party—to enter into a more active form of cooperation with the NSF Council and the government. Mr Coposu said that his party does not want to commit him to such a cooperation, but that he wants to cooperate and support the Front's activity from the outside. The understanding reached was to continue our dialogue and negotiations on specific organizational means to strengthen and give concrete shape to our cooperation with all parties.

They agreed that this problem cannot be limited to our dialogue with the three respective parties. There are some 20 parties, hence this dialogue on ways and means of cooperation must also involve the representatives of all parties. Then, one should not forget the country. Not all the country's citizens are involved the political activity of the parties. Thus the problems pertaining to ways and means to give concrete shape to this issue must take into account the need for multilateral talks and negotiations with the representatives of the existing political formations and other forces.

We believe that this way of approaching things ignores the elementary democratic rules of conducting relations, ties, dialogue, negotiations, and even confrontation—of course, we are referring to political confrontation, not a confrontation of force. Instead of dialogue, they chose the path of pressure and confrontation.

We consider this an escalation of the understandings reached and the choice made by the representatives of the three parties as not loyal. We even considered as justified the criticism of the Front made by Mr Coposu when we adopted some decisions on 12 January, under the pressure of the street. We considered that as a lucid assessment of an experienced politician, only to note now that Mr Coposu himself resorts to organizing street pressure against the Front. We consider this approach as disloyal and dishonest. Such an approach totally discredits its perpetrators and we openly state that we will never tolerate such methods and pressures. We will not give in to any kind of pressure.

However, we remain open to a continuation of the dialogue with the representatives of the three parties, and we call on them to stay within the boundaries and spirit of yesterday's dialogue and of the understandings and conclusions reached during the talks held yesterday. We call on all parties to expand this dialogue and the joint political negotiations and talks, in order to reach acceptable conclusions for all parties.

We were also surprised by another thing. Yesterday we held a first meeting of all parties in order to discuss the draft electoral law. This draft law was worked out by a group, a commission of lawyers and experts. The draft was only a working document. It was clear that the representatives of various parties might have some objections. However, such observations are negotiable. I could not participate in this meeting, as I was engaged in talks with the representatives of the three parties. Later, I was surprised to find out that the representative of the National Peasants Party made a general policy statement—without making concrete observations on the draft law, which he considered as inappropriate—and left the talks. Therefore, once more we must point out that the representatives of the Peasants Party did not come for discussions and dialogue, but rather for confrontation and measures of force.

We consider all this as most inappropriate. Once again, we call upon them to choose the path of reason, understanding, and dialogue. The road of confrontation can be dangerous.

We also call on all honest citizens to defend democracy and all our achievements to date. They should not allow anyone to resort to measures of force and pressure, which can distort our political life and push us into regrettable actions that cannot be reversed. This is a difficult and tense moment; however, we hope that reason will triumph and that party passions and ambitions—political ambitions—can be overcome. Obviously, I am referring to ambitions to take power by force.

NSF Speakers at Victory Square Rally

AU2801201890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Speeches at Bucharest Victory Square demonstrations on 28 January—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Today, a demonstration of several thousand workers from big Bucharest economic units took place in Bucharest Victory Square. The demonstrators expressed firm support for the National Salvation Front [NSF] and called for its participation in the elections as the only force which represents all the social strata of the country. Concomitantly, thousands of partisans and sympathizers with the political parties who contest the legitimacy of the Front and its right to participate in the elections also demonstrated in the square. In accordance with a communique of the National Liberal Party, signed by its general secretary, Mr Radu Cimpeanu, the members of this party withdrew from the demonstrations at around 1700 local time [1500 GMT]. Toward evening, the groups in Victory Square were joined by thousands of Bucharest residents and citizens who came from other parts of the country, who asked the NSF to participate in the elections and expressed their adherence to its program.

[Bucharest ROMPRES in English at 1912 GMT on 28 January adds that "talks between the NSF leaders and leaders of political parties also continue"]

Members of the NSF leadership addressed the demonstrators in Victory Square and presented the Front's position in the dialogue that they started with political parties. On this occasion, Ion Iliescu, NSF Council president, Prime Minister Petre Roman, and the Vice President of the NSF Council Cazimir Ionescu took the floor. We present their addresses:

[Begin unidentified speaker/speakers recording] Esteemed citizens, friends! [unintelligible chants] We express our thanks for your act of solidarity. [prolonged cheers] Today, all of you were witnesses to a manifestation of force against us [unintelligible chants] but we [unintelligible chants, somebody shouts "silence"] but we do not want to proceed on the path of adventure and the NSF will not let itself be provoked. We want to keep our door open for a democratic and honest cooperation with all forces. We want all honest forces of the country to have a sense of unity in the struggle for the country's progress. [unintelligible chants]

I want to call on all of you who are present here—unlike all those who came here hot-headedly and wanted to use methods of force—let us preserve our calm. [unintelligible chants]

Let us avoid bloody confrontations which can cause damage and the spilling of blood. [unintelligible chants] We beg all of you who are by the Front's side to show discipline, order, and calm, and let us teach others, too, to behave in the same way. [unintelligible cheers, chants].

In spite of the artificially fostered tension, we will keep open the dialogue with all parties and we want to work together. [unintelligible chants]

Even today we had discussions with the representatives of the parties. By next week we will start a dialogue with all parties. We are not thirsty for power and do not want to impose ourselves by force, let the elections decide. [commotion, unintelligible chants]

Those who claim that the Front is thirsty for power are wrong. This day has just demonstrated the opposite. [commotion, unintelligible chants]

As of next week, on Thursday [1 February], we invite all parties to an open political dialogue. [commotion, unintelligible chants]

We thank you all again and call on you to clear this square peacefully and quietly this evening. [commotion, unintelligible chants]

We are with you through our deeds. [unintelligible chants]

We are with you through what we actually do. [unintelligible chants]

We are with you because we represent you. [commotion, unintelligible chants]

We are also with you in the efforts to establish democracy. [commotion, unintelligible chants]

The accusations brought against us are unfounded, because we have not violated any of the principles stated so far. [commotion, unintelligible chants]

You are the only ones capable of judging whether we observe or disregard the principles inaugurated by this revolution. [commotion, unintelligible chants]

We will observe them in all the laws we will adopt. Meanwhile, others violated these laws today. [commotion, unintelligible chants]

Please, always stay vigilant. Do not permit it to happen that, when we present arguments in the defense of a principle, we are accused by uninformed persons. [commotion, unintelligible chants]

On behalf of all people of good faith in this country and in the name of the revolution, please keep a moment of silence so that everybody can see who are the people of good faith in this square. [silence]

NSF, Opposition Leaders on Demonstrations

AU2801164890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1558 GMT 28 Jan 90

["Events Under Way"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/1/1990—Sunday morning, several thousands of citizens working in large units in Bucharest gathered in front of the District 1 City Hall. Joining them were also groups of people come from the countryside. The addresses made by some of the workers underscored unreserved support to the National Salvation Front [NSF] and its platform. By noon the demonstrators made for Piata Victoriei [Victory Square].

At noon, several thousands of citizens were gathered in Piata Victoriei. Voices can be heard in support or against the National Salvation Front.

Meanwhile, in Victory Palace talks are held between the NSF Council leadership and leaders of some of the political parties of Romania. In addresses made on the Free Romanian Television, Corneliu Coposu (NPP) [National Peasants Party] and Radu Campeanu (NLP) [National Liberal Party] set forth their parties' position.

In an address on the Romanian radio and television stations, NSF Council President Ion Iliescu made several points on today's situation.

Demonstrations Resume 29 Jan

AU2901110990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0935 GMT 29 Jan 90

["Demonstration in Bucharest Again"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/1/1990—Tens of thousands of Bucharesters some of them come directly from their night shifts in industrial enterprises like 2 August, Republica, the Heavy-Machine and Plant Enterprise, Grivita Rosie, the Ready-Mades and Knitwear Enterprise started demonstrating early this morning in the Victory Square, expressing their support to the National Salvation Front [NSF].

Numerous citizens come last night from various counties, Constanta, Dimbovita and Giurgiu in particular, are among the demonstrators.

A tremendous and dramatic demonstration was held in the same square last evening, during which opinions were expressed for and against the NSF.

By this time the meeting continues in Piata Victoriei [Victory Square] in Romania's capital city, attended by workers from large economic units from Bucharest and other towns in the country take part, who are in support of the National Salvation Front, requesting its participation in the May ballot, as well as by thousands of partisans of the political parties that contest the legitimacy of the Front and its right to candidate for elections. [sentence as received]

Talks between the NSF leaders and leaders of political parties also continue.

NSF Calls for Calm Amid Show of Force

AU2901114590 Paris AFP in English 1002 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Bucharest, Jan 29 (AFP)—Truckloads of supporters of the ruling National Salvation Front converged on central Bucharest on Monday as the leadership called for calm after Sunday's [28 January] huge opposition demonstration. [passage omitted]

Sources close to the Peasants Party, one of the two main opposition parties, said its militants had been molested during the night in the capital and some provincial towns by National Salvation Front supporters.

Early Monday, a communique from the Front was read out on state radio. It called on Romanians to return to work and thanked "citizens who helped to surmount a difficult moment on the road towards democracy on Sunday". The Front said everyone "must return to work to ensure the normal running of the economy, as the best way to progress towards democracy, to safeguard the gains of the revolution and preserve the country's future." [passage omitted]

'Parallel Rallies,' Speeches

AU2801212390

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 2000 GMT on 28 January begins its major newscast of the day with a 10-minute long report on today's "parallel demonstrations" in Bucharest's Victory Square in support and against the National Salvation Front [NSF] and on the afternoon talks between the NSF and the representatives of the "National Peasants Party [NPP], the National Liberal Party [NLP], and the Social Democratic Party [SDP]." The report adds that "members of the NSF Council and of the NPP, NLP, and SDP took a break from their talks and tried in vain to address the thousands of demonstrators gathered in Victory Square". "In the evening," it says, "members of the NSF leadership addressed the rally."

The announcer says that "late in the evening, thousands of Bucharest inhabitants continued to arrive in Victory Square, to express their support for the NSF," and that "at 2100 hours [1900 GMT], Ion Iliescu again presented the Front's position concerning a dialogue with all parties, for a free and democratic Romania." The announcer adds that the rally was addressed by "a representative of the group of democratic parties, which consists of 6 political parties supporting the NSF, and by citizens from various cities around the country." The news item concludes with recorded excerpts from the addresses of the latter speakers—not Iliescu—expressing "support for the NSF and its right to run in the elections" and calling for "dialogue and cooperation among all political forces." The representative of the "bloc of 6 democratic parties supporting the NSF" identifies the 6 parties as follows: "the Ecologist-Humanist Party of Arad; the Party of Democratic Unity; The National Democratic Party; the Democratic Party of Cluj; the Independent Hungarian Party; and Democratic-Progressive Party and the Free Democratic Party."

Iliescu Addresses Bucharest Workers 26 Jan

[Speech by Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Front Council, at a meetng with workers of Bucharest enterprises, on 26 January—recorded]

AU2601224490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2018 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] I would like to thank you very much for this meeting. It is true that this has not been a meeting with a precise agenda. As a matter of fact we even wanted a meeting with an easy atmosphere. I am sorry that we did not have time to talk a little longer. We are not disturbed by controversial discussions either. I am convinced that all the voiced statements were made in good faith. Each person thinks in his own way and we are not upset by these things. We even like contradictory discussions because they help us to correct our own way of thinking. That is, we do not view the criticism of social and political life as an obstacle because we believe that opposition is also a law of democracy.

A law of democracy is also the respect for the minority's right to express its own viewpoint. Life can confirm or refute the opinion of the majority and maybe at one point the opinion of the minority can become the opinion of the majority.

From this point of view we must learn to live with different opinions and the free expression of all views, and only life can prove all of us right. Only life can prove who is right. From this point of view, we do not draw back from listening to the most controversial opinions. Only the clash of ideas can lead to the establishment of the truth.

Therefore, I thank you very much for this dialogue and for this exchange of opinions. Such dialogues are very useful for us because nobody among us can be the holder of the absolute truth. We all learn from life and from contact with people, and we can shape and perfect our way of thinking and also perfect the programs that we were talking about, which we intend to work on. We would like these programs to reflect, in the best way possible, the realities of our life and everything that people expect from us and from the future society that we want to establish.

Just now, somebody expects an answer to the question of how I, or we, think that the Front envisages Romania's future. We will have to work out prospects which are in keeping with the aspirations of people in this country.

I cannot give you a definite answer. I myself am not prepared to clarify this question. This is an issue that we will discuss at the level of the Front representatives and then we will discuss it publicly as well. Let us see what the country is expecting and which are our people's aspirations. Nevertheless, we want a modern society, which should meet the requirements of the end of this century.

We should not return to models of our past nor copy the models of others. We do not want to depend on the Common Market, on Moscow, or on anybody else. We want to conduct a dialogue with everybody and we want to have unhampered relations of economic, political, and intellectual cooperation with all countries of the world. We want to learn from everything that the human mind created in our times and enrich our own thinking on the basis of these unhampered contacts with the whole world. We want to create a society that meets the needs of our people. We do not want to impose preconceived ideas. We do not continue preestablished models on the basis of I do not know what kind of utopias or theories. We want to proceed on the basis of life and realities. The only valid theory is the theory that starts from realities and from life and which is permanently proved right in practice and in reality. We want to advance toward such a way of thinking and from such a way of thinking we want to start elaborating the model of our socioeconomic and political development.

Today, during the dialogue at the UMGB [Bucharest Heavy Machine Enterprise] some people said: "We do not want privatization." And you could see that some parties have a very clear program on the privatization of the economy as the solution to problems, or a free market as the solution to problems. The issue is indeed questionable. Today there is no free market in the world. That is something that existed in the last century. Currently the market is dominated by the big international monopolies. Therefore, one cannot speak of a real free market. It is a monopoly. For small countries the problem is how to sneak into this reality and at the same time maintain their independent existence. It is a matter that requires very serious thought. Thus, we must work out an independent model which is specific for the situation prevailing in our country. What does it mean to privatize the economy, primarily industry? We have some big, powerful units, but where is the Romanian capital that can compete successfully? Let us say that we start off on this road and we accept the model itself. Where is the Romanian capital that can compete in this field? Therefore, privatization means to be taken over by foreign capital. And then, people said: "We do not want to alienate our national wealth, and we do not want our enterprises to be transferred into the hands of foreign capital. This is a question that has to be thought over: How should this problem be solved? In my view this does not mean isolation. That was the other model which proclaimed independence, sovereignty and led us to an isolated model of society, an old model, which halted Romania's dialogue with the world and the exchange of values both in the economic and intellectual areas. We do not aspire toward such a thing and we do not want it. We want an open society. But how can it be open while at the same time we must defend our national being? This is a problem which must receive not simple answers but answers that are based on a very thorough examination, starting from the realities of our times and which we want to see developing into a modern context that takes into consideration the general tendencies in the international arena.

This is about all, in a few words, that directs our way of thinking. How we will be able to implement all this is an issue requiring much discussion throughout society in order to work out such models, something toward which we should direct our joint efforts.

With this I want to thank you very much, and I hope that we will meet again and hold talks together.

Roundtable Talks on Electoral Procedure Begin

AU2701153290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] The first roundtable meeting between the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] Commission, which has worked out a draft electoral law, and representatives of the political parties and groupings is taking place at NSF headquarters. After the Commission president presented a report on the draft electoral law principles, the representatives of various parties presented their viewpoints and amendments to the draft law on national representation in the future parliament, as well as their considerations regarding the parties' access to radio and television stations, the date of the elections, the prerogatives of the country's president, the prerogatives and composition of the two chambers of the future parliament, and the alternatives for the presentation of candidates—either one candidate for each constituency or lists of candidates.

It has been pointed out that the electoral law will be valid until the election of the new parliament, which in turn will adopt a new constitution and even a new electoral law.

It has also been suggested that the roundtable dialogue should be continued, possibly every Saturday, and that the draft electoral law should be examined point by point. REF: au2701154090 bucharest rompres english 271508—rompress on

start of round table talks

Peasants Party 'Withdrew' From Talks

AU2701172390 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] The first roundtable talks on discussing the draft electoral law worked out by the Constitutional, Legal, and Human Rights Commission of the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] took place in Bucharest today. Representatives of all parties legally constituted after the December 1989 revolution participated in the meeting. Likewise, representatives of certain political formations that are in the process of being legally constituted and registered also participated in the talks, as observers.

During the dialogue, which is designed to finalize the draft electoral law with a view to its eventual adoption, a large number of representatives of the attending political parties and formations presented their viewpoints on the regulations stipulated by the draft law.

One should mention that shortly after presenting its viewpoints both within the plenary roundtable meeting and in writing, the delegation of the National Peasants Party (Christian Democratic) withdrew.

The discussions on the draft electoral law will continue during subsequent roundtable talks for one month, until a common agreement can be reached.

The next such meeting will take place on Saturday, 3 February 1990. The draft electoral law will be published and submitted for broad discussion.

ROMPRES Reports Opening of Bucharest Trial

AU2701143990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1244 GMT 27 Jan 90

["Bucharest Trial Begins"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 27/1/1990—The first trial of the close associates of Romania's former dictator started in Bucharest on January 27.

Brought to court are Tudor Postelnicu (born 13.XI.1931) former minister of the interior, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], Emil Bobu (born 4.II.1927) secretary in charge of organizational problems of the CC of the RCP, member of the Standing Bureau of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, Ion Dinca (born 3.XI.1928) former first deputy prime minister, member of the Standing Bureau of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, and Manea Manescu (born 9.VIII.1916), former vice-president of the State Council, member of the Standing Bureau of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, Romanian prime minister over 1974-1979.

The defendants are tried by the Bucharest Military Tribunal as accessory to the crime of genocide. For other crimes, they are to be brought before court again in the next weeks.

The trial will be broadcast live by the Romanian Free Television.

200 Journalists Present

AU2601223190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1903 GMT 26 Jan 90

["Accreditation for the Bucharest Trial"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/1/1990—About two hundred Romanian and foreign journalists have been accredited to the trial of defendants Postelnicu Tudor, Bobu Emil, Dinca Ion, and Manescu Manea, which will begin in Bucharest on 27 January.

The list of journalists includes the names of permanent foreign press correspondents in Romania, Romanian journalists and special envoys of large news agencies, newspapers, radio and television stations in Europe and on other continents.

Half of them will be in the court room, whereas the other half will be able to watch the full course of the trial on tv monitors inside the court of justice building.

As was previously announced, the trial will be broadcast live by the Romanian Free Television starting 2.00 p.m. local time. [1200 GMT]

Mazilu Announces Resignation From NSF Council

AU2601185790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] ROMPRES transmits the following text of a letter addressed to the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council by Mr Dumitru Mazilu: "Having seen with profound sorrow and deep regret that the Stalinist methods and practices are still maintained, and labels continue to be attached on the basis of the Securitate files and on accusations made by pounding the table, and that the press is still directed toward the destruction of some people and the promotion of others, I present my resignation from the position which, if you remember, I said on the first day that I did not want.

I am convinced that those who made the revolution will not allow it to be confiscated by people who made no personal contribution to it. I remain wholeheartedly with them. I remain devoted to the ideals of democracy, freedom, and dignity which propelled the young people of our country in the struggle against tyranny. I will never forget their sacrifice."

Foreign Trade Minister Nicolae Resigns

LD2701093990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0730 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 26/1/1990—Mr Petre Roman, prime minister of Romania, met with executives of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and representatives of the ministry staff. The priorities in foreign trade were set in accordance with the current demands of the national economy.

The resignation of Foreign Trade minister Nicolae M. Nicolae was also accepted taking into account his health condition. It was decided that Mr Alexandru Margaritescu should provisionally hold that post.

Education Official Fired Over Minority Policy

LD2701120490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] There has been a change at the Romanian Education Ministry. Peter Marvanyi reports from Bucharest.

[Marvanyi] Deputy Education Minister Attila Palfalvi has been relieved of office for exceeding his sphere of authority. The step was taken on the basis of a joint recommendation by the Education Ministry and the National Salvation Front [NSF] Education Committee.

According to the official reason given, Attila Palfalvi made a decision on his own initiative on the separation of Hungarian and Romanian-language education. The official explanation also says that these measures caused tensions in certain Transylvanian settlements, and between the Romanian and the Hungarian population.

Another communique states that in the present academic year, 1989-90, education must be carried out according to the earlier decrees. But from the 1990-91 academic year they will implement the reorganizations after careful consideration.

I remind our listeners that Salvation Front Chairman Iliescu has already referred to the appearance of so-called Transylvanian separatism in a television speech on Thursday night [25 January]. A reply was given today to Iliescu's statement by Geza Domokos, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Magyar Democratic Association of Romania. The stand states that the way to overcome tensions is not by having the minority renounce its legitimate demands.

It evaluates Iliescu's statements referring to separatism as one-sided and over-simplified, and it says that the restoration of minority cultural and educational institutions is not separatism but is in harmony with the fundamental principles of the earlier NSF statement.

Returning to the change which has been effected in the leadership of the Education Ministry, all that is known about the new deputy minister is that he is also Hungarian. The official communique does not mention his name.

3,000 Students Protest for 'Truth' in Timisoara

AU2501214890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] A report has arrived from Romania regarding the student demonstrations in Timisoara. On the square in front of the opera building more than 3,000 students have demanded that the truth be revealed as soon as possible about the dramatic events which occurred in December in the town, and above all the exact number of those who died. This demand is connected with the claim that people who supported Nicolae Ceausescu are still working for the local newspaper, radio, and television.

The students are demanding a purge of the faculties. They are protesting because of the announcement that the National Salvation Front will appear at the parliamentary elections with (?their own) candidates.

Clashes Between Hungarians, Romanians Reported

LD2601221690 Hamburg DPA in German 2142 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest (DPA)—Several people have apparently been killed in the past few days in Transylvania in bloody clashes between Hungarians and Romanians. DPA has learned from well-informed circles in Bucharest that nationalistic excesses occurred in Cluj and Tirgu Mures.

The clashes were triggered by the farewell speech of French President Francois Mitterrand in Budapest, in which Mitterrand said that in 1918 two-thirds of Hungarian territory had been "separated off". The greater part of these areas, including Banat and Transylvania, had then been given to Romania. On Thursday [25 January] the French ambassador apologized on Romanian television for Mitterrand's remark. On Wednesday, after the speech, Hungarians attacked Romanians with knives in Odor Heiul Secuiesc, it was said in Bucharest. Violent clashes are said to have already occurred in that place during the revolution. Subsequently, Romanians are said to have revenged themselves on Hungarians.

The Council of the National Salvation Front was initially silent about the reports, in order to calm the situation, it was said. However, Council President Ion Iliescu, in a television address on Thursday evening, mentioned "separatist problems" in Transylvania and appealed to the population groups to contribute collectively toward the salvation of the country.

Hungarian Union Disagrees With Some NSF Claims

AU2701144590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1226 GMT 27 Jan 90

["Statement by the Magyar Democratic Union of Romania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 27/1/1990—The Magyar minority of Romania has welcomed from the very beginning the NSF [National Salvation Front] declaration on the ethnic minorities' rights, assessing it "as the first political document that firmly condemns the policy of chauvinistic oppression, of denationalization promoted by the revolute [as received] regime," shows a statement made by the Provisional Executive Committee of the Magyar Democratic Union of Romania.

Considering that it is high time for education to take specific steps toward liquidating the tares [as received] which affected the ethnic minorities, the statement also expresses disagreement with the ones who maintain that the resurrection of minorities' rights, including the right to learning in the mother tongue, would not be one of the top priorities. The statement also refers to an assessment contained in the NSF Council President Ion Iliescu's televised speech which made the unilateral impression that the Magyar minority, that is their representatives exclusively, would be responsible for the tension created in some Transylvanian towns.

The statement also specifies that they cannot accept as separatism the re-opening of courses in the mother tongue and the eradication of the measures which affected the minorities' cultural institutions.

Timisoara General: Only 100 Dead in December

LD2701222190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2008 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Timisoara, Jan 27 (TANJUG)—About 100 people were killed in Timisoara in the bloody December clashes between Ceausescu's followers and the people, Army commander of the Timis District General George Popescu told TANJUG special correspondent today.

This represents an official denial of the claims about 4,000 victims in Timisoara, launched by members of the leadership of today's National Salvation Front.

Popescu said that 79 victims have been identified so far. Out of 34 persons reported missing, 12 have meanwhile been found.

A special commission has been formed to determine the precise number of victims, and the citizens have been invited to come forward with information about killed or missing family or friends as soon as possible. Popescu expects that the commission will complete its findings in a few days.

He believes that the great differences in estimates on the death toll are a result of confusion which lasted for days both in the city and in the entire Timis District.

General Popescu has confirmed that 60 members of the secret police have been found and arrested so far. Most of them held important positions.

About 250 policemen were disarmed, but no measures were taken against them, since there is no proof that they shot at the people.

General Popescu believes that much more than 30 members of the special police participated in the clashes, but succeeded in hiding themselves. They are still being sought after by the army and the police. The results of the search are uncertain.

Demonstrations Continue in Kosovo Cities

Militia Intervenes 26 Jan

LD2601190390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1826 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—Unlike this morning, this afternoon and evening, several demonstrations, or attempts to stage them, took place in a number of towns in Kosovo.

The most explosive situation emerged in Podujevo, where over 1,000 people took part in the actions there. This afternoon security organs also intervened on a few occasions in Pec, where several hundred members of the Albanian nationality demonstrated.

In Vucitrn, too, attempts were made to stage a demonstration later in the afternoon. About 300 women, workers of the Polet factory, took to the streets and, after a while, a number of citizens joined them.

The militia quickly dispersed them as well as several hundred demonstrators in Titova Mitrovica and Vucitrn.

Further on Demonstrations

AU2601203790 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] According to the latest information by TANJUG and by our correspondents, over 20 Kosovo collectives answered the call for a general strike made during Wednesday's demonstration in Pristina:

First, some 200 miners of the first shift at the Stari Trg mine refused to begin work, although they eventually went down into the mine. Among the collectives that were hit by strikes today were the Mineks factory and the tubes factory at [placename indistinct]. Work was also suspended by 250 workers of the Albanian nationality in the Gjilan factory [words indistinct]. Strikes also took place in Vucitrn, as well as in Djakovica and Decan.

Our correspondent reports that the workers of the Balkan engineering factory in Suhareka are continuing their strike, which they started yesterday, and that they made several attempts to demonstrate outside the factory. Some Pec collectives were also hit by strikes. The majority of gatherings held by the workers in these collectives supported the demands made by the Pristina University students during Wednesday's demonstration.

During the afternoon, further reports came in about demonstrations in various Kosovo cities: A few hundred people attempted to stage a demonstration in Titova Mitrovica, but were dispersed shortly following the militia's intervention. By 1400, the demonstrators had dispersed completely. In Podujeve, too, thousands of young people demonstrated at about 1330. Our correspondent reports that, using tear gas and other means, the internal affairs organs are trying to disperse other demonstrators in the city's peripheral areas.

In Gjilan, a group of about 500 citizens, mainly young people, started to demonstrate around the bus station. However, when they tried to reach the main street of the city, they were met by a cordon of militiamen who, after warning the demonstrators, started to use tear gas to disperse them. The demonstrators shouted slogans such as: "Democracy, Kosovo, yes— Metohija, no"; "Kosovo Republic," and so forth.

At 1420, a group of young people from the ranks of the Albanian nationality started a demonstration in the center of Pec and near the main store, shouting well-known slogans such as: "We Want Democracy." The security organs dispersed the group with tear gas.

The political and security situation in Suhareka Commune is rather severe and complicated. Workers refused to work in some of the collectives and gathered in the restaurant and in the sheds to show their solidarity with the demands of the Pristina demonstrators. According to the Communal Committee of the League of Communists, the number of workers who refused to work at the Balkan factory is about 600. Serb and Montenegrin workers, on the other hand, held a meeting demanding that normal conditions for work be created. The communal authorities are continuously trying to persuade the workers to get back to work. Meanwhile, the complicated political and security situation in this commune was also reflected through an open demonstration by citizens: At about 1230 hours, groups of citizens began to arrive at the center shouting the slogan Democracy, Democracy and singing the song Our Oath [Besa Bese]. The demonstrators marched several times around the city's center. According to reports, their number grew to about 600. Militiamen used tear gas to disperse them. The demonstration lasted until the evening.

A meeting of the Communal People's Defense and Social Self-Protection Committee is being held at this moment, and an official assessment of the situation is expected soon. Demonstrations also took place in the cities of Vucitrn and Rahovec. The demonstrators were dispersed following the militia's intervention.

Army Telephone Lines Cut

AU2601205190 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] The political and security situation in Pec Commune continues to be complicated, with a tendency to deteriorate, because of activities by the enemy of Albanian nationalism and separatism. This was stated at a joint meeting of the presidencies of the Communal Committee of the League of Communists and of the Committee for the people's Defense and Social Self-Protection. At the Boris Kidric metal factory, the workers suspended work this morning briefly, but resumed work after talks with local activists.

A meeting of the Djakovica political aktiv was held last night. The meeting discussed the general political situation and security in this commune before and after the

14th Emergency Congress of ther League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the recent events in Pristina. The meeting considered the situation to be complicated: In the villages of Morine and Zhukaj, two cases of severing telephone lines of the People's Army of Yugoslavia were discovered. In addition, some pamphlets were distributed in the commune, on positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism. Meanwhile, about 300 workers of a local factory organized a protest rally, at which they supported demands that were identical to those made by the Pristina University students.

5 Reported Killed in Kosovo

AU2701185090 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] New demonstrations were organized in almost all the streets leading to the center of the city of Pec today. Groups of demonstrators are making continuous attempts to penetrate to the center of the city. Militia are continually trying to disperse the demonstrators, using teargas and from time to time shooting in the air. Barricades have been erected in some streets. The security organs report that during yesterday's disturbances, 10 militia vehicles were damaged. Fourteen demonstrators were arrested.

Demonstrations took place today also in Suhareka, involving several hundred people. The demonstrators are shouting slogans similar to those heard during yesterday's demonstrations. The militia intervened immediately, using only teargas. Barricades have been erected by the demonstrators.

Violent demonstrations took place today also in Orahovac. The number of demonstrators was large and according to the latest reports, five people were killed and several others injured in clashes with the security forces. Demonstrations took place also in Podujeve. The militia intervened to disperse the demonstrators.

Situation 'Quiet but Tense'

AU2801163190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] The situation in Kosovo has been mainly quiet, but tense. Here is a report from Pristina by Milivoje Mihajlovic:

[Milivoje] Although it has still not been officially confirmed, there is no doubt that some people were killed and seriously injured during the clash between the security forces and terrorists in Pec and Orahovac yesterday. The situation is tense in all places in the province.

This morning went without any demonstrations by Albanian separatists. Up to late last night, groups of masked terrorist were intercepting and damaging cars in the Pristina commune of Vranjevac. Witnesses claim that the only cars that were spared were the cars with their lights switched off. This was allegedly a safe pass through Vranjevac.

Last night shooting also took place in the village of Dusanovo near Prizren. As usual, Albanian separatists are spreading disinformation on the alleged brutality of the security forces and a real slaughter of, as they say, innocent citizens. It is clear that by spreading such lies, which are gaining in weight in the absence of an official confirmation of the number of people killed, Albanian separatists are trying to incite dissatisfaction and indignation of the citizens and attract as many like-minded people as possible.

This morning there was some unrest in General Jankovic near Kacanik where the terrorists stoned the militia station. The situation is particularly tense in Suva Reka and Orahovac.

This morning Serbs and Montenegrins held a rally in Laplje Selo and Gracanica. Some 1,000 inhabitants of Laplje Selo demonstrated against the attack on their neighbor Tomislav Zivic, who was beaten up by a group of demonstrators during the demonstrations in Pristina the day before yesterday. They all stress that they can no longer live in uncertainty and under the pressure of separatism. They demand that the state protect the lives and property of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. They also appeal to Albanians to reject the false, sanctimonious care from Slovenia and Croatia and oppose the rage and terror of Albanian separatists. The people gathered at the rally in Gracanica sent an appeal to the Serbian Presidency to use all available means to protect the remaining Slavs in Kosovo. If Serbia is not able to do it, the people at the rally said, the Kosovars should be enabled to protect themselves. They warned that the resoluteness of Serbs and Montenegrins to stay in Kosovo and Metohija is increasingly being questioned, and said that, if the nationalist madness of Albanian separatists is not halted, the people could leave Kosovo en masse.

Events 'Taking a Dramatic Turn'

LD2801165790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1556 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, 28 Jan (TANJUG)—Official organs in Kosovo assess that the situation in the province is taking a dramatic turn and that there is information portending large-scale disturbances.

Albanian separatists, in a similar manner as in the attempt at armed insurrection last March, are again adopting terrorist and guerrilla tactics, not only toward the security organs but there are also instances of attacks on military persons and facilities.

Albanian extremists are throwing various objects at the police, overturning vehicles, erecting barricades and using firearms. Last night a group of demonstrators demolished the police station in Djeneral Jankovic, not far from Kacanik, and in Pec a soldier on guard duty was attacked. A group of extremists threw chemicals at him and then attempted to take his rifle from him, but they did not succeed thanks to the soldier's resourcefulness.

It is also very difficult for local political activists because they are being provoked and attacked. Last night the Pec League of Communists Municipal Committee secretary had to fire his revolver into the air when a group of extremists attacked him.

It has been learned that Hisen Kajdomcaj, president of the presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, will address citizens of Kosovo and the Yugoslav public on Pristina Television this evening.

'Tense' Situation in Orahovac

LD2801181890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1649 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Pristina, 28 Jan (TANJUG)—[Passage omitted: Four demonstrators were killed in Orahovac yesterday. A tense atmosphere dominates the town]

At about 1300 a group of demonstrators gathered in the sixth district of Orahovac, the part of town where all the unrest so far has begun, but it was dispersed by quick intervention of the security forces.

About 300 to 400 demonstrators, mostly young people between 18 and 20, although there were also children aged 6 to 7, took part in yesterday's demonstrations. The well-known faces of some participants in the earlier disturbances were spotted, particularly those from March last year when four people were injured here. According to witnesses' claims, one of the participants in yesterday's clashes, 23-year-old Agron Fetahu from the village of Celine, temporarily working in Switzerland, was buried today.

According to the words of Orahovac's political activists, the demonstrators set off yesterday from the village of Velika Krusa towards Orahovac, their numbers growing as they passed through the nearby villages. At about 1300 the demonstrators encountered the militia who asked them to disperse, and later tried to disperse them with tear gas. At that point the Albanian terrorists and separatists started shooting at the militia, who returned fire. Four people were killed and eight demonstrators were injured.

7,000 Demonstrate in Suva Reka

LD2801172790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1703 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, 28 Jan (TANJUG)—About 7,000 Albanians are taking part this evening in demonstrations which began this afternoon in Suva Reka. Using tear gas, militia managed to break the demonstrators into two groups but they are still going on.

Most demonstrators are stationed on the approach to Suva Reka from the direction of Prizren, in the villages of Siroka and Sopina. About a thousand Albanians are also demonstrating in Dragas this evening.

Casualties in Kosovo Reported

AU2801185590 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Unrest continues in Kosovo. Serbs and Montenegrins are becoming increasingly disturbed. Here is a report from Pristina by Milivoje Mihajlovic:

The fiercest clashes between the militia and demonstrators today took place in Suva Reka. Groups of terrorists opened fired with automatic weapons at the security organs which managed to establish order in the city center only right after dark. It is thought that there are some casualties [povredjeni].

The situation in Suva Reka is still critical. The demonstrations began this afternoon when several hundred, mainly adults, managed to break through the militia cordon and arrive in the city center. They were joined by passersby; the number of demonstrators reached 3,000. They split into two fairly large groups. One was pushed toward the outskirts, while the other resisted for a long time, even using firearms against the security forces.

The terrorists who carried out an armed attack on the militia station in General Jankovic demonstrated particular aggressiveness. Two militiamen were wounded. They erected barricades near this settlement on the border between Kosovo and Macedonia on the Skopje-Pristina road.

Troubles were also reported in Gnjilane where the communal League of Communists building was stoned. In Orahovac, strong security organs prevented gathering and an attempt to hold demonstrations.

The news that five terrorists were killed in Orahovac in yesterday's demonstrations has not been confirmed or denied. Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo are becoming increasingly disturbed. Today, at protest rallies in Lipjan, Gracanica, and Lapje Selo they demanded that the state protect them from the separatists' rage. In the village of Prekale in the commune of Istok night watches were introduced again.

The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, led by writer Ibrahim Rugova, issued a statement condemning repression and bloodshed in the province. This alternative party is also appealing to the SFRY Presidency and insisting that the state of emergency be lifted and repression stopped. They are asking the 100,000 members and other citizens of Kosovo not to allow their demands to be turned into interethnic confrontations, which, in the opinion of the democratic alliance's leaders, is desired by those who build their position of power on interethnic conflicts. With this statement the democratic Alliance of Kosovo is in fact inciting new unrest in the province.

Radio on 28 Jan Demonstrations

AU2801193590

[Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 28 January begins its regular

30-minute newscast with 13 minutes of reports on the current situation in Kosovo.

The reports begin with a summary of the situation, which states that "The situation in Kosovo, according to all assessments, has reached a critical point, and it is feared that events will acquire a new, dramatic impetus. Today, as our correspondents and those of TANJUG report, demonstrations took place in Suva Reka, Orahovac, and Dragas. The demonstrations in these places, according to recent reports, are still continuing. The most serious situation is in the villages around Orahovac, where there were fatalities and injuries yesterday in clashes between demonstrators and the security services."

A report on the demonstrations in Suva Reka states that "the situation is becoming more serious," with "masses of citizens coming to the town from all the surrounding villages." According to the report, "10,000 people are taking part in the demonstrations, mostly shouting the slogans Democracy, democracy, and Freedom, equality. Although the militia has blocked the town's main road, demonstrators are continuing to arrive using side streets. Barricades have also been erected at various points where demonstrators have gathered. In their efforts to disperse the demonstrators, the militia has used tear gas, but the town is still impassable. It has been reported that gunshots have been heard." The report also states that the Suva Reka All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection Committee is meeting to discuss the situation, and that the Balkan Rubber Combine is at a standstill.

A report from Orahovac states that "The situation is serious and involved," and that "demonstrators assembled at about 1200 local time, shouting the slogans Democracy, democracy, and other now- familiar slogans. After the intervention by the security services, the demonstrators dispersed." The report states that "There were also demonstrations in the village of Rakovac, but demonstrators dispersed after militia intervention," and that "all the commune's political activists are in the field, making efforts to improve the situation significantly."

A report from Prizren states that "citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities gathered in the hall of the Jovanka Radivojevic-Kica Local Community in Prizren and expressed their fear and concern at events in Kosovo and Prizren Commune." According to the report, the speakers at the gathering said that recent events "have nothing to do with human rights," and "called on the Slovene leadership to abandon its support for the Albanian nationalists." The report states that those attending the gathering said that "Serbia has never been an empire, but will never be enslaved to the Albanians," and expressed concern at the situation of Serbian families in Istok Commune, demanding increased militia protection.

A report from Pec states that the local situation is "quieter today, but remains serious and very complicated." A meeting of the All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection Committee is reported as stating that "More than 3,000 people took part in yesterday's demonstrations." The report states that "Eight motor vehicles of the security services were damaged." An indistinct portion of the report mentions injuries and arrests, and also states that "Fatmir Ukaj, born in 1972 in Pec," was killed in the demonstrations.

A report from Vucitrn states that "everything is quiet" and that local authorities are working to stabilize the situation.

A report from Gnjilane states that Serbs from the Anamorava region have expressed their "fear and insecurity" following "recent" demonstrations. A meeting of the All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection Committee criticized the security services for "not safeguarding in time buildings of vital importance, and stated that security services did not arrive in time in all centers where demonstrations broke out, but were concentrated only in the center of Gnjilane. The demonstrators were most numerous and aggressive in Boris Kidric Street. The windows of a shop were broken, from which demonstrators took white caps [part of Albanian national costume], and stones were thrown at the communal League of Communists building." The report also states that barricades were built, but the demonstrators were dispersed with tear gas.

The reports conclude with a TANJUG report on the appeal of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance, "indignantly condemning the reprisals and bloodshed, and opposing a further deterioration of the political situation," also stating that "the state of emergency has become a principal cause of bloodshed," and appealing to the SFRY Presidency to "inaugurate democratic dialogue to examine the problems of Kosovo."

Situation in Pec Reported 'Quiet'

AU2801202190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] We now have a report by Aleksandar Ljubicic from Pec where the fiercest clash between Albanian terrorists and the security forces took place yesterday:

[Ljubicic] Today, there has been illusionary peace in Pec, but the traces of yesterday's clashes between the demonstrators and militia are still visible. There are broken windows and stones on the streets, and the inhabitants of this city below the Prokletije Mountain look disturbed. The only provocation took place where terrorist Fatmije Ukaj was killed. Somebody placed a wreath there.

Today, the Pec Committee for National Defense issued a statement on the consequences of yesterday's unrest. Six terrorists and one militiaman were slightly or more seriously injured.

We asked Muhamed Corkadij, president of the Pec Communal Assembly, whether people who are not residents of this city also took part in the demonstrations.

[Begin Corkadij recording] Out of those who were detained yesterday, one half, which is to say one half of 130 of them, is from other communes such as Djakovica, Vucitrn, Decani, and other communes. [end recording]

[Ljubicic] Tomorrow is the first working day. We asked Muhamed Corkadij whether one could expect a general strike or workers joining the demonstrators again.

[Begin Corkadij recording] It is difficult to make any conclusion about that. So far there are no indications that this could happen, especially in view of the fact that in the last 2 days the situation in the work organizations has been favorable. Where work stoppages did take place, such as in the (?Utva) factory of industrial materials, the workers decided to return to work after the talks with officials. It was slightly more difficult in the Ramiz Sadiku car parts factory. Two shifts did not report to work, but after the talks with the president of the communal assembly and communal party committee, they returned to their work places. Yesterday was in fact a working day for them. The first shift was not full, but the second was. [end recording]

One Dies in Kosovo Protest

LD2801221990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2041 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, 28 January (TANJUG)—Police forces this evening dispersed the demonstrations which the Albanian nationalists and separatists organized in Suva Reka. In an attack by the most extreme participants in the demonstrations on the security forces, it has been learned, three people have been injured, one of whom has died of his injuries.

The demonstrations in this town, which began as far back as noon and went on until the evening, were very aggressive and large-scale. Participants in the disorders brought along wood, stakes, and other objects and erected barricades on the streets and fired shots at members of the police from several flats.

According to official statistics, in Dragas itself, there were no demonstrations, as had previously been announced, but they did take place in three villages in this municipality—in Bljac, Brodosavce, and Kukovce. Here in the afternoon several hundred persons demonstrated and members of the security organs had to disperse them.

There were also gatherings and attempts to demonstrate in the village of Smira in the municipality of Kosovska Vitina. About 200 local people made the same demands which have been voiced in the past few days in other areas in Kosovo, but after talks and persuasion from municipal activists they went off to their homes.

Other villages and towns in Kosovo today were on the whole peaceful, but very tense. The latest disturbances have again caused disquiet and uncertainty among everyone, and especially among members of the non-Albanian nationality.

Official provincial organs assess that the situation has become dramatic. This evening Hisen Kajdomcaj, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, addressed the citizens of Kosovo, especially Albanians, on Pristina Television and called on them to contribute by their behavior to overcoming the difficult and dangerous situation. Kajdomcaj requested of the competent state organs and other subjects that they implement constitutionality and legality and the special measures of the SFRY Presidency with the aim of protecting the order, peace, and security of all citizens.

Militia Intervenes in Demonstrations

LD2901113190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1044 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, 29 Jan (TANJUG)—In at least 20 collectives in Kosovo, first-shift workers of Albanian nationality stopped working again today. By their protest they are expressing their solidarity with the demands raised these days in the demonstrations in the province.

It has been learned that the villagers of Albanian nationality in the village of Korisa in Prizren municipality and the village of Musetiste in Suva Reka municipality organized demonstrations this morning so the militia had to intervene.

Work Stoppages Accompany Protests

LD2901132990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1305 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, 29 Jan (TANJUG)—Demonstrations of Albanian nationalists began again about noon in a number of towns in Kosovo. At the same time several hundred individuals started demonstrating in Podujevo, Urosevac, and some time later in Prizren too.

According to the latest [words indistinct]

At the same time, in at least 40 Kosovo production facilities [words indistinct].

The work stoppage assumed the greatest proportions in Urosevac while, for example, Pristina collectives are working normally. The biggest and most vital collectives, such as Elektroprivreda and Trepca, are also working normally.

Police Use Tear Gas

AU2901145290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Report by Milivoje Mihajlovic in Pristina]

[Text] About 1,000 mainly younger ethnic Albanians are demonstrating in Lipljan [Kosovo]. At about 1300, they gathered in the center of town, near the railroad station shouting slogans such as: Democracy; Tito—Party; and Kosovo—Republic.

Afterwards, several militiamen used tear gas to disperse them from the center to the outskirts. After a brief period of calm, about 1,000 Albanians again walked through the streets of Lipljan chanting the same slogans. They threw stones and broke windows in the Communal Committee of the League of Communists building. Near the bus station, militiamen used tear gas again. One could hear pistol shots there, too. Nobody was injured. There are still groups of demonstrators in the back streets.

There was unrest in the villages of Korisa and Musutiste near Suva Reka, and security forces are still trying to restore order there. According to reports arriving from Malisevo, several thousand Albanians are demonstrating there. There was unrest and demonstrations in Prizren, too.

Today, ethnic Albanians did not work in the Suva Reka Balkan Organization, in the Gnjilane [name indistinct], the mines Ajvalija and Kisnica, and some Prizren and Urosevac collectives.

At two places in the center of Pristina and in the Boro and Ramiz Youth Hall, signatures are being collected for a declaration initiated by the branch of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, and the Philosophers' and Sociologists' Society. According to the heads of these alternative movements, over 600 Albanians have signed the declaration at only one place in 2 hours. The signatures are being collected under the slogan: For Democracy and Against Violence. In their declaration, the members of the alternative movements advocate a peaceful solution to the Kosovo problem, oppose demonstrations, but are demanding the abolition of extraordinary measures, the release of political prisoners, and a referendum for free elections. They say that already tomorrow they will ask the authorities in other Kosovo towns to allow them to have open places where this declaration will be signed.

The Kosovo Polje Socialist Alliance has harshly condemned the latest demonstrations by Albanian separatists and particularly the behavior of the Slovene and Croat leaderships concerning the Kosovo events. Their support for Albanian chauvinists, it was said, is tantamount to high treason. Criticism was addressed also to the SFRY Presidency and its failure to be ready to impose order in the province and to ensure the security of all citizens.

Albanians Demonstrate in Prizren

LD2901163890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1519 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Prizren, 29 Jan (TANJUG)—About 1,000 Albanian nationalists, mostly from other municipalities, demonstrated at about 1300 in the center of Prizren. They were not, however, given any substantial support by citizens.

Militia officials broke them quickly into several groups but the demonstraters retreated into the side streets, from where they took off for other parts of the town. The stormiest scene was in the suburbs of Ortakov, where the demonstrators erected barricades.

The situation is very difficult in the village of Korisa, too, where about 2,000 Albanian separatists are demonstrating. A delegation of Serbs from this village came to the municipal committee, asking for help and protection for their lives and property. The demonstrators stoned Veselin Igic's house. This was not the first attack on the houses of Serbian families.

In Prizren enterprises some workers of Albanian nationality are on strike today while in the Elan construction work organization and the Slame mixed enterprise production was halted.

Regional Organizations React to Kosovo Unrest

Kosovo Presidency Statement

LD2601213590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1655 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—At yesterday's expanded session, the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo assessed that the latest events, which developed into demonstrations revolving around Albanian nationalism and separatism, have dealt a serious blow to efforts to stabilize the whole situation and to halt the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, the efforts to consolidate the common front of progressive forces of all the nations and nationalities in Kosovo, to carry out the reformist tasks successfully, and to overcome more quickly the social crisis.

The presidium—it is said in today's statement—demands of all competent state organs and social subjects to ensure, by their greater involvement, a consistent and responsible implementation of constitutionality and legality in their work and the implementation of the SFRY Presidency's extraordinary measures in all environments and at all levels thus preventing any threats to the constitutional order, public order, and peace, personal security, and the security of property of every citizen.

The Kosovo Presidency points out the need to mobilize on a mass scale the progressive forces of all the nations and nationalities to overcome more quickly the complex political and security situation in the province and to create the conditions for resolving the everyday problems of working people and citizens successfully.

Kosovo LC Condemns Slovene Statement

LD2601233790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2049 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—The Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee Presidium has assessed yesterday's statement of the Slovene LC Central Committee on the situation in Kosovo as a severe provocation by which this organ, allegedly in the name of protecting the Albanians' rights in Kosovo, openly and directly assumes the role of protector of Albanian nationalists and separatists. We believed, the stands of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium adopted at today's session say, that this sort of patronage hitherto expressed toward the Albanian nationality are just acts of certain forces in the Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia and of individuals in its leadership. Now it is obvious that this is a posture of the official organs of the Slovene LC Central Committee which, in its attempts to promote its own separatism, is seeking an ally in Albanian nationalism and separatism.

By doing this, the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium equates Albanian nationalists and separatists with the Albanian nationality, something that has nothing to do with the Yugoslav orientation of most Albanians in Kosovo. Every well-intentioned man in Kosovo and even elsewhere is aware that no one can understand and solve the Kosovo problems better than the progressive socialist forces, primarily the Kosovo LC.

The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium regards the statement of the Slovene LC Central Committee as a hostile act aimed against the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the republic of Serbia, and Yugoslavia. Therefore, it demands that all the state and party organs of the country immediately formulate appropriate stands on such an act. Otherwise this might bring about dangerous national confrontations and conflicts with unforeseeable consequences for the whole of Yugoslavia. In Kosovo such tendencies are already evident.

Realizing that the situation is extremely serious and can trigger off dangerous tensions, confrontations, and conflicts on a national scale and facilitate the aims of Albanian nationalists and separatists to have an ethnically pure Kosovo, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium calls on the Kosovo LC membership, on all working people and citizens, particularly those citizens of Albanian nationality who hold Yugoslav equality, brotherhood, and unity close to their hearts, not to be misled by the provocation and manipulations of the hostile forces operating in Kosovo or those who come from Slovenia or any other part of the country, and to energetically oppose any form of such activities.

All of us in Yugoslavia, confronted with the Kosovo drama, bear historical responsibility and everyone is obligated to act accordingly. The Kosovo LC and its leadership will persist until the end in consistently implementing the policy of full national equality, brotherhood, and unity in line with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia policy and it will on no account surrender to the pressures regardless of whether they come from Kosovo or from any other part of the counry. All well-intentioned people in Kosovo can be fully assured of that, the statement of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium says.

Democratic Alliance Urges Dialogue

LD2801182590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1701 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, 28 Jan (TANJUG)—The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo "condemns with indignation repression and bloodshed and it opposes the further political exacerbations and their negative consequences," says today's statement of this alternative organization following the latest developments in the province.

We are calling on, the statement resumes, the SFRY Presidency, which is "responsible for implementing the extraordinary measures in the province and all possible consequences," to immediately stop the repression and accept a democratic dialogue for a serious consideration of the problems in Kosovo. The Democratic Alliance also appeals to its 100,000 members and all the citizens of Kosovo, for humanitarian reasons, not to let the democratic demands evolve in interethnic hostilities and confrontations, some—the state reiterates—"that would be welcomed by those who base their position of power and violence on interethnic confrontations."

Kosovo Presidency Asks Normalization

LD2801223590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2113 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, 28 January (TANJUG)—In connection with the difficult situation in Kosovo, Hisan Kajdomcaj, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, this evening addressed, on Pristina Television, all this province's citizens, especially Albanians, appealing to them not to succumb to the influence of enemies. Kajdomcaj said that the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the Provincial Executive Council view the situation in Kosovo as extremely difficult and complex and point out that the gatherings and demonstrations by some members of the Albanian nationality could, unless they are stopped as soon as possible, lead to a situation with undreamed-of consequences.

No one can bring into question the democratic processes. On the contrary, they should constantly be intensified, advanced, and enriched. They should be developed through democratic and constructive dialogue and in the framework of the system's institutions, Kajdomcaj said.

However, he adds, what has been happening in the last few days has nothing in common with democratic processes. Freedom, security, and the life of citizens and democratic processes are endangered by hostile slogans, insults and attacks, vandalism, and destructive actions. So I call on all citizens, working people, young people, and other Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, Turks, Romanies, and others to make their full contribution to overcoming the difficult and dangerous situation with their full mobilization and maximum involvement. Do not allow yourselves to fall under the influence of elements of the internal and external enemy, Albanian nationalists and separatists, or any other nationalism and separatism.

The enemy of all colors is attempting, Kajdomcaj stressed, to intensify hatred and distrust and to provoke large-scale disturbances, bloodshed, and fratricide. Let us not permit this under any circumstances for the sake of the young generation and its future.

Let us not allow ourselves to be taken in by the provocations and disinformation which are leading to the exacerbation of personal and intethnic relations and to the destabilization of Kosovo. We are all involved in the normalization and stabilization of the situation so as to create conditions for lifting the special measures as soon as possible, and not so as to further intensify them.

Citizens and members of all the nations and nationalities in Kosovo and throughout the country are deeply concerned about the situation in Kosovo, but at the same time they are interested in its stabilization, Hisan Kajdomcaj said and added: unity in the country is the condition for overcoming the situation in Kosovo, and what is malicious and what comes from various circles, individuals, and some leaderships in some individual environments, as has been the case recently with Slovenia, only makes the situation more difficult.

I appeal to all citizens of all the nations and nationalities, and especially to Albanians, to make their maximum contribution so that the situation which has arisen might be normalized as soon as possible, Hisen Kajdomcaj, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, said this evening.

Croat LC Takes 'Stand'

LD2801232190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2242 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Zagreb, Jan 28 (TANJUG)—The Central Committee of the League of Communists (LC) of Croatia late this evening concluded that in view of the current situation, (after the interruption of the 14th special League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Congress last Tuesday) the meeting of the LCY CC [Central Committee] Presidency cannot be held.

The LCY CC Presidency usually meets on Mondays and the situation in Kosovo was expected to be reviewed tomorrow, which, after the interuption of the Congress, has suddenly worsened due to increasing activities by Albanian separatists and chauvinists.

If the session of the Yugoslav party Presidency is still scheduled, members of the body from Croatia, according to the stand of the LC of Croatia, cannot take part. If a consultative meeting is scheduled in the party Presidency, then president of the LC of Croatia Central Committee Ivica Racan will take part, i.e. the person appointed by the LC of Croatia Presidency.

The CC of Croatia this evening also concluded that the policy so far in Kosovo has not succeeded in halting the loss of human life, the moving out of people and the aggravation of international relations. The CC of Croatia is against the actions which do not open up democratic processes in Kosovo.

The Central Committee appeals to all citizens of Kosovo not to seek a solution to the piled up problems through violent action which lead to tragic loss of life. The C.C. of Croatia proposes to the Serbian Presidency and all of the organs of the republic, of which Kosovo is a part, and organs of the province to immediately undertake political measures for eliminating the causes of the clashes and to end them.

The C.C. of Croatia considers that the demands of the citizens of Kosovo for national equality, a multi-party system, free elections, end to political trials and release of political prisoners, cannot be proclaimed as counterrevolutionary, as they are legal and legitimate.

Serbian Presidency Communique

LD2801230290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2231 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 28 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia concluded at today's meeting that the security organs in Kosovo, where demonstrations by Albanian separatists and chauvinists are in their sixth day running. "Are acting in line with the functions of the legal state and the duties which the state has to protect the constitutional order ensure safety to citizens and protect property."

Five demonstrators were killed in clashes with police yesterday in Kosovo, a southern province of the Republic of Serbia, while another demonstrator was killed in today's clashes. The police were forced to respond with fire after demonstrators shot at them from fire arms.

The security organs will oppose all violence and it is their duty "through adaquate measures, to make impossible terrorist attacks, which threaten the security of citizens and their basic rights," it was set out in a Serbian Presidency communique.

The Serbian Presidency approved of the "measures which were undertaken and which will be further taken" in Kosovo to protect the constitutional order and security of citizens.

The Serbian Presidency assesses the demonstrations in Kosovo as an additional pressure on Serbs and Montenegrins in the province, which "must not be tolerated." It is the duty of the legal state to "prevent, through appropriate means, such conduct which directly threaten national equality and basic human rights," the communique sets out.

BORBA Printing Office Workers on Strike

AU2601131790 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade—The workers of the BORBA printing office are on strike today. Their main demand is that the director general submit an irrevocable resignation by 1600 and that the managing board of the BORBA Work Organization also tender its resignation. If these demands are not met, the workers of the BORBA printing office say they will not print any of the three dailies. The meeting of the strike committee with the managing board of the BORBA house is under way.

Management Board Resigns

LD2601152590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1348 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Jan (JANJUG)—BORBA's management board today handed in its resignation, which will be discussed by authorized self-managing organs of this newspaper publishing house.

In this way, the main demand of the strike committee of BORBA's printing office was met—the resignation of the management board and the irrevocable resignation of the BORBA general director. The strike began at 1100 GMT.

Printers Demands Partially Met

LD2601215490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1828 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—After their demands were partly met, workers of the BORBA printing plant, who have been on strike since this morning, agreed to carry on preparations for printing tomorrow's editions of BORBA, VECERNJE NOVOSTI and SPORT.

Unless all members of the management board resign at the meeting of the management board of the BORBA work organization, and the editorial board tonight, as the strikers demand, these three newspapers will not be printed.

If the strikers' demands are adopted, the newspapers will reach the kiosks, but with less pages. However, it ,is certain that the first edition of BORBA, the so-called regional edition, will not appear.

Management Resigns; Strike Ends

LD2601232590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2029 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Summary] Belgrade, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—After all the members of the BORBA management board resigned this evening, the workers of the printing plant started at 2030 GMT to print tomorrow's editions of BORBA, VECERNJE NOVOSTI, and SPORT. These newspapers will reach the stands tomorrow morning, with at least a two-hour delay.